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Autumn • 1950

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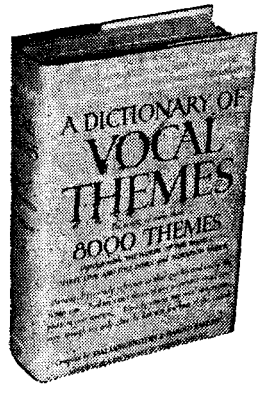

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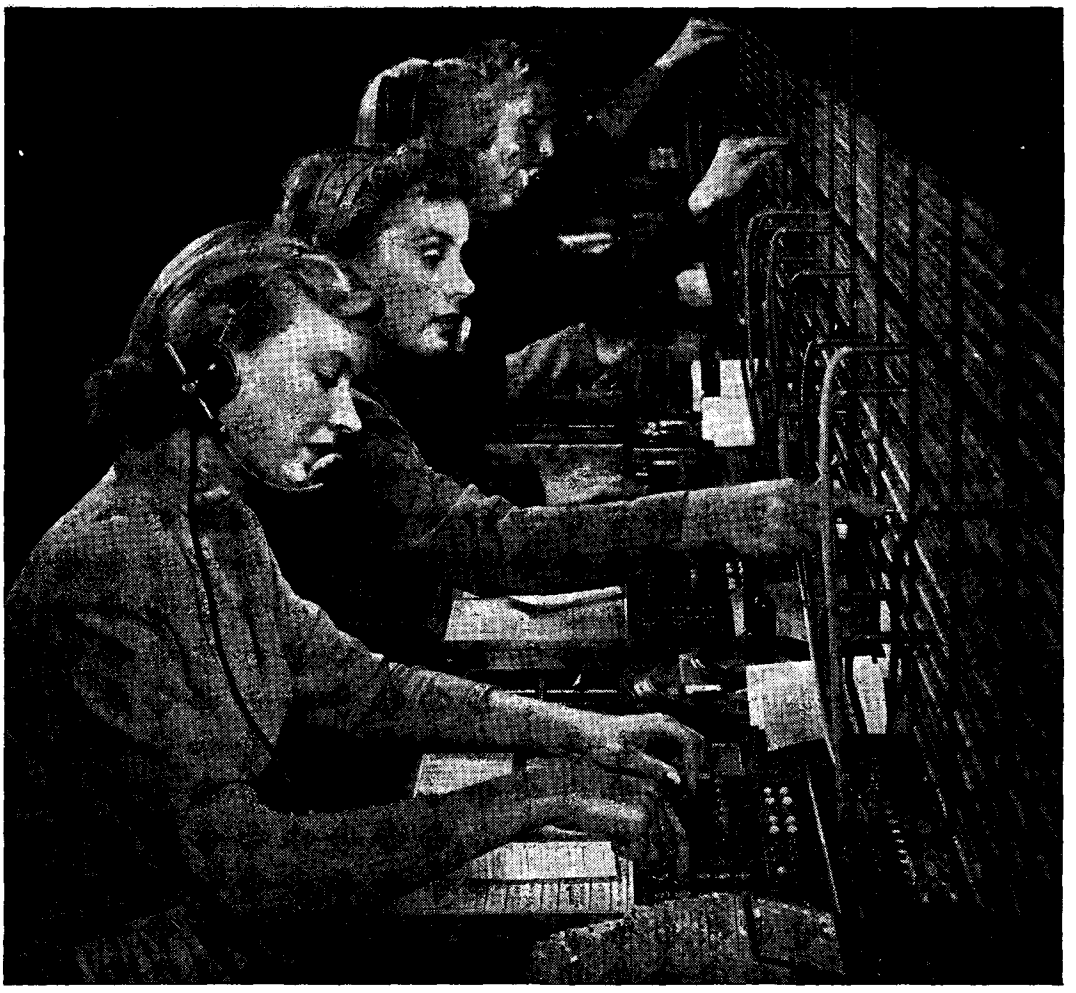

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Gospel for the Crossroads

MANKIND, humanity, culture, so far as I can discern, has always been at the crossroads. Yet, as it is encountered, each seems to be the only crossroads; and, in perspective, the innumerable turns which have gone before seem to constitute a straight path. How wisely past choices have been made it is impossible to say; for we possess no instruments for determining whether the roads passed up would have led to destiny or damnation. In every instance a sacred legacy—which could not have been kept intact—had to be preserved; in every instance an unknown—yet dreaded—future had to be avoided. The traditions we sought to preserve were not made of stuff durable enough to withstand the moth and rust of time. As we moved forward, the succession of horrors along the unfamiliar road turned into finite problems which at our peril we had to meet with knowledge, reason, and the mile of foresight we could command.

In Everyman there lies too much of Rip Van Winkle fully to rise to the decision which a crisis commands. As crossroad gives way to crossroad, the past cannot come to our rescue with solutions to the problems it never knew. It can help us only with an art—long in the making yet still unmade—which holds the experience of the ages. This art employs a number of techniques for getting facts, for finding what they mean, for projecting trends with skepticism, for re-

Those editorials signed R. W. Emerson, secundus, have been written in each case by one member of the Editorial Board but read thereafter by the others before publication. The present editorial, signed *J. Bentham Mill*, is also written by a member of the Editorial Board, but independently, and has been approved for publication only by the Editor and the Consulting Editor.

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ducing a complex of intangibles to that horrendous thing called "the coefficient of correlation".

But, more important, it involves regarding our values as a little more earthly than the eternal verities, regarding our attitudes as hypotheses by which we must live but which we must abandon or modify at the dictate of reason. If that future is to be won, and not to overwhelm, it must be met with minds which are free to inquire, to sense novelty as an untamed asset, to take the uncharted road with boldness, yet with alertness to the succession of challenges which it presents.

This freedom to find out is the most precious element in our heritage. Orthodoxy is the wealth of today; it is heresy which holds tomorrow in its hand. A thousand orthodoxies have come and gone and —not one would we reclaim. In a society which is free, heresies come by the score; the market for ideas applies its selective tests; every idea must meet as best it can the test for survival. Our culture is itself a texture of ideas which, when they first appeared, were quite outrageous. Novelty, born of a mind free to roam, has taken over and created the framework of culture within which we carry on.

In every domain, men, a little queer to their neighbors, have hurled strange ideas at the rock of ages: Vesalius daring to lay profane hands on the human corpse, lately the dwelling place of the soul, to prove that Galen was wrong in his anatomy. Copernicus deposing the Earth and installing the Sun in its place as the center of the universe. Newton daring to assert that the very force which called the apple to fall held the heavenly bodies to their celestial courses. Intellectual adventurers contriving instruments with which to explore a micro-realm which lies beyond the reach of human eye and ear—and employing infra-sensory fact to create a new physical universe. Curious spirits restoring to life the old theory of the four humors in the marvelously intricate system of hormones with which of late the human organism has been fitted out. Here great men have emancipated the human race—or a lucky fraction thereof—from an assortment of bondages. But great men could not have become great discoverers had not a multitude of lesser men, defying reputable belief, allowed their minds to be bold.

A multitude of amateurs, too, daring to think freshly and to think alone, have blazed the way for the amenities of life. The glory of

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music lies in its radical breaks with its past and its repeated discovery that there are ever new harmonies to be sounded. So long as Beethoven imitated Haydn and Mozart, he was another pleasing composer. When he dared to think for himself, he became fed up on the crumbling social order, had an irresistible impulse to say "God damn," demanded a thundering piano or an orchestra with which to say it—and found for music a new voice and a new audience. Romantic poetry became great when English bards refused to allow form to shackle content, defied the canons of criticism, and refused to heed Scottish reviewers. An advance in art inevitably creates its stereotypes; and escape must be effected before the next advance is made.

The little which we have managed to know about the social order has come from bold inquiry: Thomas Jefferson, at the risk of being hanged for treason, scribbling a magnificent paean of grievances against his king into the Declaration of Independence. Adam Smith, at almost the same moment, quietly wrecking the economic orthodoxy of his day and proclaiming his own recipe for the Wealth of Nations. Jeremy Bentham, not so far away, in defiance of God's gulf between sovereign and subject, hurling his broadside that the objective of all good government is the greatest good of the greatest number. His mathematical test has long ago lost its validity; his basic idea endures. All the men, all the ideas, here set forth are now respectable, in fact ultra-respectable. But in their beginnings the men were all heretics and their ideas blasphemy. It is the irony of history that the elements which make up the status quo are all of seditious origin.

For ours happens to be the kind of world which human knowledge creates. The most fallacious of myths is that ours is an economy of scarcity. It is true that we are limited to the stuffs which Nature has served up. But it takes knowledge to discover and to turn into resources the materials which lie about us. As the useful arts are advanced, the inert becomes the usable. Heat and the foundry convert mere stuffs into metals; the difference between the cotton stalk and the lint disappears before modern processing; gasoline is as much a product of the internal combustion engine as of petroleum. A physicist—at least a good physicist—will tell you that what we know about matter is only in terms of the questions which have been asked about

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it; that another culture would contrive other questions and discover another matter. With the progress of the useful arts, the sources of wealth are endlessly enlarged.

So, too, with the acquired competences of human beings. No one knows what undiscovered talents still lie within the chromosome. It takes exposure to turn the potential into actual ability. The capacity to tinker with an automobile, to fly an airplane, to streamline a skyscraper has been there all along; the Feudal Age lacked exposures with which to draw them out. Capacities which flowered of old still survive; but our age does not possess the stimulus necessary to create the capacity which converts a handful of theological dogma into a grand architectural structure. For the Twentieth Century the Fall of Man and his Redemption invites no glorious adventure into epic poetry. Thomas Gray in his "Elegy"—an outrageous utterance which blasted at the foundations of a class society (how did it escape the crusade against sedition in that day?)—recognized that lack of opportunity left village Miltons mute and inglorious and made village Cromwells unknown to fame. By creating or failing to create exposures and opportunities, a society may draw out in profusion, or may ignore, the wealth which lies in the potential capacities of its people.

If our culture is to command, not to ignore, its wealth, it must release the human mind for daring adventure. Our technology advances, but our arts of using it remain primitive. We put the most dangerous weapons in the hands of officials who are not even amateurs in the relations between people. Our economic order, which has grown up haphazard, must do for the lack of something which is better. How confused it is is indicated by the current habit of defending monopoly in the name of free enterprise. Our democracy is more valuable as a profession of faith than as a downright reality. We have partially broken the taboos which hedge sex about, and a little something has been learned about the place of the emotions in the pursuit of happiness. But here experiment, too isolated to afford reliable conclusions, has failed to provide a better answer. In these and like domains the spirit of inquiry must be free to take its own honest path. The gifted individual must be allowed to make his brilliant discoveries. But gifts can develop only in a society which calls them out,

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and discovery can be made only in a culture which can rise to tolerance. A thousand amateurs must have their fling before a single Aquinas or Mozart or Columbus or Cardozo can achieve what is, for the time at least, a new truth.

Whether by this year of grace Mr. Justice Holmes has had celestial converse with Saint Paul, I do not know. But what they would say to each other is no mystery reserved for the ears of the angels. In course of time some common friend—it is engaging to ask who it will be—will draw them together. And the talk which will result is no heavenly secret either.

Saint Paul: You hold, Mr. Justice, do you not, to the proposition, "Prove all things"?

Mr. Justice Holmes: Yes, St. Paul, provided you add, "and regard nothing as too sacred to be put to the proof."

Saint Paul: (interrupting) And hold fast that which is good.

Mr. Justice Holmes: Now you provoke me to dissent, for what is the test of goodness, and who can tell before the event what is good and what is bad? Let Everyman choose for himself his own primrose path to the everlasting bonfire, I say.

Far be it from me to take sides in such a dispute. It is enough that between them the two immortals have provided a gospel for the crossroads which a dynamic and unfinished universe is forever serving up.

J. Bentham Mill

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The American State of Mind

Archibald MacLeish

FOR once in the long history of academic ceremonials in the United States there is a real reason for a commencement address. It is not a particularly flattering reason to commencement speakers or to their audiences, wherever they may be gathered —in California or in my own commonwealth of Massachusetts or anywhere between—but it is a reason notwithstanding. The country is just now recovering, in this month of June, 1950, from the most protracted moral and intellectual binge in the history of the Republic, and troubled citizens from one coast to the other are asking themselves, in revulsion and anxiety and disgust, a question which I submit to you, no serious convocation, in any American university or college, can decently ignore.

They are asking themselves: What happened to this nation? What came over us? How could we, we particularly, we of all the peoples of the earth, we who have always boasted of our courage and our confidence and our belief in ourselves, our respect for each other, our trust in our own people, our faith in our institutions of self-government—how could *we* fall from ourselves so far? And into such morbid and unmanly fears? Into such spiteful hatreds? Such hysterical suspicion of each other and ourselves? Such neurotic terror of the machinations of our enemies? Such cowardly distrust of our own destiny? Such ignorant forgetfulness of the great meaning of our past?

These are not rhetorical questions, though they sound as though they were. They are real questions. They ring with iron tongues in

✪ One of our best-known living poets, ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, now Boylston professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard University, has served as librarian of Congress and assistant secretary of State.

This article is an address delivered at the fifty-seventh annual commencement exercises of Pomona College, California, held June 11, 1950, and developed from a theme presented extemporaneously to a Unitarian conference in Boston.

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the minds of responsible men and women of all opinions and all parties. They produce examinations of conscience among United States Senators of the opposition as well as hours of sleepless anxiety among officers of government. They echo in the questions and answers, the arguments and the responses, of citizens everywhere. And they will not be silenced.

The facts, the ostensible facts to which they relate, do not silence them. There is no single fact or combination of facts which explains what has happened. There is no devil in the piece, though there are villians enough—no devil, that is, of sufficient stature and influence to shake and undermine the morale of a great people, the most powerful nation now on earth. The ostensible facts are there:

A minor politician at that time unknown in his own state or anywhere else, speaking on a purely political occasion to a wholly political audience, alleged that there were two hundred and five Communists in the Department of State. This unsupported allegation was picked up by the press. A Senate committee was appointed to investigate. The two hundred and five became eighty-one or fifty-seven. The eighty-one or fifty-seven became a dozen or so actual names. The dozen or so actual names proved to belong to people who had already been investigated by the FBI and cleared by loyalty boards and committees of the previous Congress which the opposition controlled. The dozen or so actual names were then replaced in the news by a single alleged chief Communist and master spy on whose guilt or innocence the whole case was to stand or fall—as though charges of treason, in a country like the United States, were no more than bets in poker: doubles or quits. The single alleged chief Communist and master spy turned out not to be in the State Department at all, and to be anything but a meek and willing victim into the bargain. The charge of master spy was withdrawn. Evidence was offered. The evidence proved to be rumor and private opinion presented for the most part by persons who admitted they were once Communists themselves but claimed to have left the Party. The chief Communist and master spy thereupon gave way to three individuals who were said still to be in the Department of State though their names had been on a list of suspects drawn up by someone unnamed in 1947.

Nothing in the entire factual record, in other words, was definite

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or certain or beyond question but one thing: that charges of communism in the Department of State had been made, involving something between two hundred and five persons and one, and that the conduct of the politician making these charges had not been such as to inspire confidence in the singleness of his desire to get at the truth. And nevertheless these fluctuating charges, and the hearings in connection with them, and the evidence offered or not offered in their support, have obsessed the minds of a great part of the American people, pre-empted the time of the officers of their government, divided the Congress as the Congress has not been divided since the Civil War, and weakened the country in the face, not only of its enemies, but of those it needs as friends.

Small wonder that decent citizens, looking back over such a record in the light of returning common sense, should ask themselves what has happened to their country. If there is no factual explanation of the national obsession, what then was the cause? The press, which so many of us blame for so many ills? The irresponsibility of certain publishers and the greed of others? The grating voices of political partisans, disguised as commentators, on the air? I do not think so. Radio and press, though they may exploit a national state of mind to their own profit rather than to the advantage of the public interest, do not themselves create the mental climate of the United States. The practices of certain columnists who have made a profitable business of the sale of hate and defamation over the past ten years may have provided the politicians engaged in this particular campaign with their precedents and models, but the press as a whole can hardly be held responsible for anything but perhaps the initial inflation of an unsupported allegation into a ballooning newspaper story.

Where, then, does the responsibility lie? Quite clearly, I think, in the one place where most of us are least likely to look for it—in ourselves. Ten years ago, a political speech like the speech which set off this chain reaction in the deterioration of American morale would not have been noticed outside the Hearst or the McCormick industries. This year it is published on the front pages of responsible newspapers. And why is it published there? A curious editorial in the New York *Times* some weeks ago provides a possible answer.

Deploring the effect on national morale of the publication of un-

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substantiated charges of disloyalty in government departments, the editors of that distinguished journal proposed, as others have proposed since, that a national committee be appointed to investigate—the *Times'* nominees being Messrs. Baruch, Eisenhower and Hoover. Why so important a committee should be set up to investigate the *lack* of evidence to support charges which no patriotic or honorable man would make unless he *had* evidence, the editors of the *Times* did not explain. Neither did they state why a great and responsible newspaper, which believed that charges it was publishing were of doubtful truth, and that the publication of these charges was a public disservice, should go on publishing them on its front page. The concern of the editors of the *Times* was with something else—something deeper and more troublesome than one man's recklessness or another man's responsibility. Their concern was with the national state of mind. What they were saying in effect was this: that in the present state of mind of the American people even the greatest of their newspapers has lost control of its essential function, and that it is the national state of mind rather than the conduct of a particular politician which requires action.

Whatever one may think of the logic of the argument, there can be little doubt of the soundness of the underlying assumption. It is not because the American press published defamatory rumors as front page news that faith in the great American conviction of the dignity and worth of the individual human being has been shaken in the United States. It is because faith in the dignity and worth of the inindividual human being has been shaken that defamatory rumors could be published as front page news without meeting the general public indignation which would have silenced them in a braver time. It is not because a frightened and apparently shameless politician attempted to terrify us with fluctuating statistics of disloyalty in our government and hysterical forecasts of the imminent communization of the United States that we have lost the confidence and courage which characterized our people in the past. It is because courage and confidence have drained away that a man of such dubious qualifications, ignorant of our national character and unfamiliar with our tradition, could persuade us to listen to his panic talk.

The real question, the question every decent citizen of this coun-

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try must ask himself in all earnestness of heart and mind and conscience is the question: What has brought our convictions and beliefs to this low state? What has happened to a tradition of self-reliance, of mutual respect, of confidence in each other, of belief in the people and their capacity to govern themselves, of faith in the institutions through which their self-government operates—what has happened to a tradition which goes back for centuries on this continent—what has happened to that tradition when a campaign of innuendo and suspicion and distrust, wholly alien to our history, can thrive among us? What has happened to that tradition when the author of these doubts, the perpetrator of schism, the agent of fear, can be made a kind of public hero by audiences which regard themselves as American? What has happened to that tradition when the figure American history most detests, the figure of the self-confessed informer engaged in his divisive and subversive business, can be spoken of with praise?

That is the real question. That is the question which must give every American, whatever his party or his economic position or his race or his church, long anxious hours. For it is, without any qualification whatever, the most serious question history has asked us since the American Civil War. If the belief of the American people in themselves and in each other has truly declined to such a point that cynically unsubstantiated charges, and naked rumors, and hearsay suspicions, can throw our national life, at any moment and under any circumstances, into such an uproar as we have witnessed in shame and disgust these last long weeks, then the Republic is not only in danger; it is in greater danger than it has faced since the War between the States. And what it is in danger of is something far more deadly than Communist armies without or Communist conspiracy within, deadly as these things are. What it is in danger of is the loss of its own soul.

I for my part do not believe that the faith of the American people in themselves and in each other has been corrupted to this point. I am comforted, as we have all been comforted, by the great and growing wave of indignation and revulsion against this strategy of fear. The American conscience has spoken, without regard to politics or party, in the words of one of the great moral leaders of the Republic, the former Secretary of War and State, Henry L. Stimson. It has spoken in the voice of Senator Margaret Chase Smith and those who associ-

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ated themselves with her noble protest on the Senate floor. A minority in this country which was apparently ignorant of the American tradition, and uninstructed in the American past, has had a lesson which may stand both it and the Republic in good stead. It has learned that neither political ambition masquerading as public service, nor bigotry disguised as patriotism, will long deceive the people of this country if the fundamental American belief—the belief in the dignity and worth of the human individual—is challenged.

But though the country is rapidly recovering its self-respect, strengthened in its devotion to common decency and common right, the underlying question still remains and still demands our answer. Unless we can understand why we were vulnerable to an attack upon our confidence and our courage on this occasion, we cannot be certain that, attacked again, we shall be stronger than we were.

It is my contention that the key to that critical understanding is to be found in the general position we have adopted with regard to the world crisis in which we live. Faced with the consequences, in human restlessness and discontent and aspiration, of two world wars, and of an expanding industrial and technical revolution which has now reached to the farthest corners of Asia, we elected, at a critical moment in history, to resist the Communist exploitation of that situation rather than to act upon it affirmitively in the interest of our own belief in individual freedom. We chose the policy of the containment of Russia rather than the policy of the realization of the American dream. We turned our backs on those who talked about decent living standards for the peoples of Asia and Africa and committed ourselves instead to the men who proposed to encircle communism with a ring of steel. We elected a destiny of permanent negation in place of the destiny of endless affirmation which had created our nation and our history as a people.

The effect of that decision on our fortunes abroad is obvious enough and has been recognized for what it is. Opinions differ as to the wisdom or lack of wisdom of our foreign policy but no one doubts that our present situation is a result, in one sense or another, of the decision to resist. What we have not recognized—or had not recognized until we found ourselves infected by the hysteria of these last few weeks—is the fact that the same decision has had conse-

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quences at home. And yet those consequences at home are even more obvious, and may be far more serious, than the consequences abroad. They have already produced the most dangerous corruption of fundamental decencies and beliefs which living Americans have seen on American soil. They are capable of bringing about a moral and political and religious revolution which would destroy the civilization which has been in process of formation on this continent from the Mayflower Compact through the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution to the latest legislative expression of the faith in human freedom.

If you impose upon a virile and creative people whose past history has been a history of the pursuit of their own purposes, the accomplishment of their own labors, the realization of their own hopes—if you impose upon such a people a doctrine not of achievement but of defense, not of the pursuit of their own ends but of the frustration of the ends of others—you create inevitably a psychological vacuum. And a psychological vacuum, like a vacuum anywhere else, will fill itself if it can. The American vacuum is no exception. It filled itself first with an infatuated preoccupation with the very thing it had been created to exclude. Communism became the dominant obsession of the American mind, and every new attempt to hunt it out by Klieg lights, television and Congressional dramatics only enhanced its importance. A contemptible party, which had never been able to interest a minute fraction of the American people until blundering assailants in Congress and in state legislatures came to its assistance, was built up into an infernally powerful, diabolically intelligent and unbelievably efficient organization about which every reader of newspapers, every listener to radio, was daily informed. Marxist theories of the subordination of the individual to the state, which had been detestable to American opinion from the foundation of the Republic, and which the Communist party had never been able to propagate here, were propagated for it by individuals and groups in Congress and out who advocated restrictions on the fundamental American right to think as you please and say as you think, on the ground that it is more important to catch Communists than to *be* Americans. Even the idea of freedom itself was hacked down, by an infatuated logic, to fit the Communist obsession. A former Ambassa-

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dor to Russia protested not long ago in this very state of California against the engraving of the Four Freedoms on a memorial because, he said, freedom from want and freedom from fear are Russian freedoms.

To contract the American dream because it might overlap the Russian propaganda was as remarkable a proof of preoccupation with communism as a man could expect to see in a once courageous country. But there was worse to come. There was the momentary failure of American morale under the campaign of suspicion and fear of the past several months. And beyond that shameful incident—beyond it but shadowed in its murk—there was and is a further and a greater danger. There is the danger that the vacuum which has filled itself with a preoccupation with communism, and which has carried that preoccupation to the point of a temporary loss of confidence in our own institutions under the mere breath of rumor and suspicion, will end by drawing into itself some counter-communism which we will accept, because it is counter-Communist, only to learn too late that it is counter-American as well.

If you determine your national course of action by hostility to communism, and if you let your own traditional aspirations for the creation of *your* kind of world wilt and wither, and if, in the state of frustration and futility which must inevitably follow, you permit Communist fraud and Russian threats and Soviet duplicity to frighten you into a state of apprehension and funk, you are very apt to turn for strength, not to your own proven historical resources of self-reliance and individual initiative and personal courage, but to some rival authoritarianism which, you believe, can defend you better than a purely democratic, self-governing people can defend themselves.

It is not likely, I will be told, that a nation which has just fought and won a terrible and costly war against one brand of authoritarianism should turn to another to escape a third. And I agree that it is not likely. I agree that it is not likely in spite of the reckless and irresponsible things that have been said by certain Americans about that war since it was won. I agree that it is not likely in spite of the foolish and fatuous things that are still being said by certain Americans about anti-Communist dictatorships in other countries. But no responsible

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American citizen, face to face with the events of the past several months, can contemplate the future with complacency even so. As long as we continue in a state of mind which makes communism in mirror image the dominant and controlling influence in our national life—a state of mind which leads us to act from fear instead of hope—to act *against* instead of *for*—as long as we continue in this state of mind, we arm our demagogues and our ambitious men with terrible weapons. As we have just now seen. Not until we have recovered our sense of ourselves, not until we have returned to our own traditional business of creating and building, not until we can look at our time with eyes of purpose instead of eyes of fear, will we be safe from enemies who, because they hate the things we hate, we think of now as friends.

It is for this reason, or so it seems to me, that no serious academic convocation held this year can decently neglect the immediate political situation of our country. For fundamentally and at bottom it is not merely a political situation. Fundamentally and at bottom it is a moral situation and must be recognized as such. Many of us in the United States talk of the need for religion in this critical time. To some, what is required is the moral rearmament of mankind for a struggle against amorality. To others, the need is for a rededication to Christ in the battle against anti-Christ. To still others our salvation lies in the renunciation of the materialism which degrades our civilization and the conversion of the world to spiritual things. These are elevated aspirations and some of them are nobly held. There is however another and a humbler labor which falls not upon the churches but upon the schools and above all upon those institutions of higher learning which must be responsible, in our society, for the vitality of the concepts which have shaped our thought.

What is essential to our escape from the trap of fear and hate and worse in which we lie suffocating today is a recovery of *a sense of purpose*. Without the passion of purpose no nation however rich—no man or woman however talented—can escape the evil things that breed in the dead air and poison and destroy.

But purpose is not merely a matter of a declaration of positive aims by your State Department—a new policy, foreign or domestic. Purpose is not merely a question of what you mean to do next. Purpose

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is a question also of *why you mean to do it.* To what end? To accomplish what of human value?

When we in the United States were a nation of purpose, at the full expression of our purpose as a nation, there was no American who could not have answered either question without so much as pausing to draw breath. What we aimed to do next was to open this continent to mankind to live in. And the reason why we aimed to open this continent to mankind to live in was to create here a nation in which men could be free *as individuals*—think as they pleased and say as they thought and live the way men *should* live: in self-respect and confidence and courage. We meant to show the world that such a nation *could* be created—that men *could* live so—live like men.

In theory that is still our reason for existence. But it is a reason which survives today rather in our rhetoric than in our wills. And it is precisely there, or so it seems to me, that the men and women, students and teachers, of American colleges and universities, have a labor to perform. For the weakening of our wills in this regard—the weakening of our belief in the absolute value of the freedom and independence of the individual human mind—is a consequence not only of a change in ourselves but of a change in our world. It is, to put it bluntly, far more difficult to believe in the absolute worth and dignity of the human individual in the world we live in than in the world Thomas Jefferson lived in. But—and for the same reason—it is far more necessary also.

The belief in man—man as an individual—man as an individual free to think as he pleases and say as he thinks—man as an individual answerable only to his conscience and his God—this belief is not easy to articulate in realistic and self-evident terms in an industrialized society and in such a world as modern physics has revealed to us. And yet, without a new and convincing articulation of belief in the unqualified right of the individual human being to think as he pleases and say what he thinks, regardless of the preconceptions and the creeds, the opinions and the prejudices, of governments or parties or organizations or churches, civilization as we have known it—civilization crowned by science and by art—civilization carried forward by the creative spirit and the inquiring mind—would be unthinkable. It would disappear behind the blank conformist institutionalism which,

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not only in Russia, not only in Europe, threatens to board up the outward windows of the world.

The colleges and universities of a free society are first—or should be first—among the defenders of a civilization in which freedom can survive. They have a duty, recognized by almost all of them, to resist the encroachments of bigotry and ignorance and prejudice and fear, upon their own—their academic—liberities: for without these liberties they are not schools at all but prisons of men's minds. They have, however, another duty also: to redefine and make articulate the underlying faith of freedom in itself: to light once more the guttering candle of man's reliance on himself in such a world as ours.

It is an inconceivably difficult labor, but one the universities and colleges alone can do. And it is well worth doing. Without the belief in man—the live and passionate belief in man—democracy is a rhetorical formula which will collapse whenever fear assaults it: which any demagogue can undermine. *With* the belief in man, democracy becomes the most powerful social structure in the world, because it is then the only social structure which is not only *structure* but a moral force as well.

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Neurosis and Human Growth

Karen Horney

TOGETHER with many others (among them Erich Fromm, Adolph Meyer, James S. Plant, H. S. Sullivan) who had discarded Freud's theory of instincts, I first saw the core of neurosis in human relations. Generally, I pointed out, these were brought about by cultural conditions; specifically, through environmental factors which obstructed the child's unhampered psychic growth. Instead of developing a basic confidence in self and others, the child developed basic anxiety, which I defined as a feeling of being isolated and helpless in a world potentially hostile. In order to keep this basic anxiety at a minimum, the spontaneous moves toward, against, and away from others became compulsive. While the spontaneous moves were compatible, each with the others, the compulsive ones collided. The conflicts generated in this way, which I called basic conflicts, were, therefore, the results of conflicting needs and conflicting attitudes with regard to other people. And the first attempts at a solution of these conflicts were largely attempts at integration, through giving full rein to some of these needs and attitudes, and suppressing others.

This is a somewhat streamlined summary, because the intrapsychic processes are too closely interwoven with those going on in interpersonal relations for me to have left them out altogether. They were touched upon at various points. To mention but a few: I could not discuss the neurotic's need for affection, or any equivalent need

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pertaining to others, without considering the qualities and attitudes which he must cultivate within himself in the service of such a need. Again, among the "neurotic trends" I enumerated in *Self-Analysis* there were some which had an intrapsychic meaning, such as a compulsive need for control through will power or reason or a compulsive need for perfection. For that matter, in the discussion of Claire's analysis of her morbid dependency (also in *Self-Analysis*) I dealt in condensed form with many intrapsychic factors presented in the same context in the present book. Nevertheless the focus was decidedly on the interpersonal factors. To me neurosis was still essentially a disturbance in human relationships.

The first explicit step beyond this definition was the contention that conflicts with regard to others could be "solved" by self-idealization. When, in *Our Inner Conflicts*, I propounded the concept of the idealized image, I did not yet know its full significance. I saw it at that time simply as another attempt to solve inner conflicts. And its very integrating function accounted for the tenacity with which people adhered to it.

But in subsequent years the concept of the idealized image became the central issue from which new insights evolved. It actually was the gateway to the whole area of intrapsychic processes presented in *Neurosis and Human Growth*. Having grown up scientifically with Freud's concepts, I was aware of the existence of this area. But because Freud's interpretations of it made sense to me only in spots it had remained strange territory.

I now saw gradually that the neurotic's idealized image did not merely constitute a false belief in his value and significance; it was rather like the creation of a Frankenstein monster which in time usurped his best energies. It eventually usurped his drive to grow, to realize his given potentialities. And this meant that he was no longer interested in realistically tackling or outgrowing his difficulties, and in fulfilling his potentials, but was bent on actualizing his idealized self. It entails not only the compulsive drive for worldly glory through success, power and triumph, but also the tyrannical inner system by which he tries to mold himself into a godlike being; it entails neurotic claims and the development of neurotic pride.

With these elaborations of the original concept of the idealized

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image, another problem emerged. While focusing on the attitude toward self, I realized that people hated and despised themselves with the same intensity and the same irrationality with which they idealized themselves. These two opposite extremes remained separate in my mind for a while. But finally I saw that they were not only closely interrelated, but were in fact two aspects of one process. This, then, was, in its original draft, the main thesis of this book: *The godlike being is bound to hate his actual being.* With the recognition of this process as an entity, both extremes become more accessible to therapy. The definition of neurosis too had changed. *Neurosis now became a disturbance in one's relation to self and to others.*

Although this thesis remains to some extent the main contention, in recent years it has grown in two directions. The question of the real self,[1] always puzzling to me as to so many others, pushed itself into the foreground of my thought, and I came to see the whole inner psychic process, beginning with self-idealization, as a growing alienation from self. More important, I realized that in the last analysis self-hate was directed against the real self. The conflict between the pride system[2] and the real self I called the central inner conflict. This made for an enlargement of the concept of neurotic conflict. I had defined it as a conflict between two incompatible compulsive drives. While retaining this concept, I began to see that it was not the only kind of neurotic conflict. The central inner conflict is one between the constructive forces of the real self and the obstructive forces of the pride system, between healthy growth and the drive to prove in actuality the perfection of the idealized self. Therapy therefore became a help toward self-realization. Through the clinical work of our whole group,[3] the general validity of the intrapsychic processes

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[1] Defined early in *Neurosis and Human Growth* as "that central inner force, common to all human beings and yet unique in each, which is the deep source of growth," and later as "the 'original' force toward individual growth and fulfillment, with which we may again achieve full identification when freed of the crippling shackles of neurosis."

[2] The inseparable combination of neurotic pride and self-hate.

[3] Here and elsewhere in this article, "our" refers to the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis.

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described above became more and more clearly established in our minds.

The body of knowledge also grew as we worked from general to more specific questions. My interest shifted to the variations in different "kinds" of neurosis or of neurotic personalities. At first these appeared as differences in awareness or in accessibility of one or another aspect of the inner processes. Gradually, however, I realized that they resulted from various pseudo-solutions of the intrapsychic conflicts. These solutions offered a new—tentative—basis for establishing types of neurotic personalities.

When one arrives at certain theoretical formulations, a wish arises to compare them with those of others working in the same field. How had they seen these problems? For the simple but inexorable reason that time and energies are too limited to do both productive work *and* conscientious reading, I must restrict myself here to pointing out certain similarities to, and differences from, comparable concepts of Freud's. Even so limited a task meets with great difficulties. In comparing individual concepts, it is hardly possible to do justice to the subtlety of the thinking by which Freud arrived at certain theories. Moreover, from a philosophic point of view, it is not permissible to tear isolated concepts out of context and then compare them. Hence it is not useful to go into detail, although in the interpretation of details the differences are particularly startling.

When I review the factors involved in the "search for glory"[4] I have the same experience as before when embarking on a voyage into relatively new areas: I am struck with admiration for Freud's power of observation. It is all the more impressive since he did pioneer work in scientifically unexplored territory and did it against the odds of cramping theoretical premises. There are only a few (although relevant) aspects of it which he either did not see at all or did not consider important. One of these concerns what I have described

[4] Occurring in the neurotic when "the energies driving toward self-realization are shifted to the aim of actualizing the idealized self." Other elements (besides self-idealization) in it are "the need for perfection, neurotic ambition, and the need for a vindictive triumph."

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as neurotic claims.[5] Freud saw, of course, the fact that many neurotic patients were liable to expect an unreasonable amount from others. He also saw that these expectations could be urgent. But regarding them as an expression of oral libido, he did not realize that they could assume the specific character of "claims," i. e., of demands to the fulfillment of which one feels entitled.[6] Nor did he consequently realize the key role they play in neurosis. Also, in spite of using the term "pride" in this or that context, Freud was not cognizant of the specific properties and implications of neurotic pride. But Freud did observe belief in magical powers and fantasies of omnipotence; infatuation with oneself or with one's "ego ideal"—self-aggrandizement, glorification of inhibitions, etc.; compulsive competitiveness and ambition; the need for power, perfection, admiration, recognition.

These manifold factors which Freud observed remained for him diverse and unrelated phenomena. He failed to see that they were expressions of one powerful current. He did not, in other words, see the unity in the diversity.

Three main reasons combined to prevent Freud from recognizing the impact of the drive for glory and its significance for the neurotic process. To begin with, he was not cognizant of the power of cultural conditions to mold human character—a lack of knowledge which he shared with most European scholars of his time. The implication which interests us in this context is, in simple terms, that Freud mistook the craving for prestige and success, which he saw all around him, for a universal human propensity. Hence, for instance, a compulsive drive for supremacy, dominance or triumph could not and did not strike him as a problem worth examining, except when such ambition did not fit into the given pattern of what was considered "normal." Freud considered it problematic only when it

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[5] Harald Schultz-Hencke was first to recognize their significance in neuroses. According to Schultz-Hencke, a person develops unconscious claims because of his fears and his helplessness. The claims in their turn contribute greatly to pervasive inhibitions. Harald Schultz-Hencke, *Schicksal und Neurose*, Gustav Fisher, Jena, 1931.

[6] The only place where Freud remotely saw something resembling claims was in the context of the so-called secondary gains from illness, which in itself is a most dubious concept.

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reached obviously disturbing proportions or when, occurring in women, it did not concur with the given code of "femininity."

Another reason resides in Freud's tendency to explain neurotic drives as libidinal phenomena. Thus self-glorification was an expression of a libidinal infatuation with self. (A person overrates himself as he may overrate another "love-object." An ambitious woman "really" suffers from "penis-envy." A need for admiration is a need for "narcissistic supplies," etc.) As a result, the inquiry in theory and therapy was directed toward particulars of the love life past and present (i.e., libidinal relation to self and others) and not toward the specific qualities, functions and effects of self-glorification, ambition, etc.

The third reason lies in Freud's evolutionistic-mechanistic thinking. "It implies that present manifestations not only are conditioned by the past, but contain nothing but the past; nothing really new is created in the process of development: what we see today is only the old in a changed form."[7] It is, according to William James, "really nothing more than the results of the redistribution of the original and unchanged materials." On the grounds of this philosophical premise, excessive competitiveness is satisfactorily explained if it is seen as the result of an unresolved Oedipus complex, or of sibling-rivalry. Fantasies of omnipotence are regarded as a fixation on, or a retrogression to, the infantile level of "primary narcissism," etc. It is consistent with this viewpoint that only those interpretations are and can be considered "deep" and satisfactory which establish a connection with infantile experiences of a libidinal kind.

From my viewpoint, the therapeutic effects of interpretations of this kind are limited, if not positively obstructive, to important insights. Let us assume, for instance, that a patient has become aware that he tends too easily to feel humiliated by the analyst; he also realizes that in approaching women he is in constant dread of humiliation. He does not feel so virile or so attractive as other men. He may remember scenes when he was humiliated by his father, perhaps in connection with sexual activities. On the grounds of many detailed data like these from the present and the past, and of

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[7] Karen Horney, *New Ways in Psychoanalysis*, Chapter 2.

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dreams, interpretations are given along these lines: that for the patient the analyst, as well as other authoritative figures, represents the the father; that in feeling humiliated, or in his fear thereof, the patient still responds according to the infantile pattern of an unresolved Oedipus complex.

As a result of this work, the patient may feel relieved and the feelings of humiliation may be lessened. In part, he has in fact benefited from this piece of analysis. He has learned a few things about himself and has realized that his feeling humiliated is irrational. But without having his pride tackled, the change cannot possibly be a thorough one. On the contrary, it is likely that the surface improvement is largely due to the fact that his pride will not tolerate his being irrational, and particularly his being "infantile." The likelihood is that he merely has developed a new set of "shoulds." He *should not* be infantile and *should* be mature. He should not feel humiliated because it is infantile to do so; so he no longer feels humiliated. In this way, a seeming progress can in reality be an obstruction to the patient's growth. His feeling of being humiliated is driven underground, and the possibility of his squaring himself with it is considerably lessened. Therapy has thus made use of the patient's pride instead of working against it.

Because of all the theoretical reasons mentioned, Freud could not possibly see the impact of the search for glory. Those factors in the expansive drives which he did observe were not what they seemed to be, but "really" derivatives of infantile libidinal drives. His way of thinking prevented him from appreciating expansive drives as forces carrying their own weight and having their own consequences.

This statement becomes clearer when we compare Freud with Adler. It was Adler's great contribution to realize the importance for neuroses of drives for power and superiority. Adler, however, was too preoccupied with devices of how to gain power and how to assert superiority to realize the depths of distress entailed for the individual, and hence stayed too much on the surface of the problems involved.

We are struck offhand by much greater similarities between my concept of self-hate and Freud's postulation of a self-destructive instinct, the death instinct. At least here we find the same apprecia-

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tion of the intensity and significance of self-destructive drives. Also certain details are viewed similarly, such as the self-destructive character of inner taboos, of self-accusations and resultant guilt-feelings. Nevertheless, in this area too, there are significant differences. The instinctual character of self-destructive drives, as assumed by Freud, gives them the stamp of finality. When conceived as instinctual, they do not arise out of definite psychic conditions and cannot be overcome with changes in these conditions. Their existence and operation then constitute an attribute of human nature. Man has therefore at bottom only the choice of suffering and destroying himself, or of making others suffer and destroying them. These drives can be mitigated and controlled, but ultimately are unalterable. Moreover, when with Freud we assume an instinctual drive toward self-annihilation, self-destruction or death, we must consider self-hate, with its many implications, as simply one expression of that drive. The idea of a person hating or despising himself for being as he is is actually alien to Freud's thinking.

Of course, Freud—as well as others sharing his basic premises —observed the occurrence of self-hate, although he was far from recognizing its manifold hidden forms and effects. As he interprets it, what seems to be self-hate is "really" the expression of something else. It may be an unconscious hate for somebody else. And it can happen, indeed, that a depressed patient accuses himself for offenses committed by another person, whom he unconsciously hates because of feeling frustrated in his need for "narcissistic supplies." Although this is not a regular occurrence, it became the main clinical basis for Freud's theory of depressions.[8] Briefly, the depressed consciously hates and accuses himself but, in fact, *unconsciously* hates and accuses an introjected enemy. ("Hostility toward the frustrating object has turned into hostility toward one's own ego."[9]) Or what *seems* to be self-hate is "*really*" the punitive process of the superego, the latter being an internalized authority. Here again self-hate turns into an interpersonal phenomenon: hate for somebody else or fear of his hate. Or, lastly, self-hate is seen as the

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[8] *Cf.* Sigmund Freud, *Mourning and Melancholia*, Coll. Papers, IV.

[9] Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytical Theory of Neurosis*, W. W. Norton, 1948.

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sadism of the superego, resulting from a repression to an anal-sadistic phase of infantile libido. Self-hate is thus not only accounted for in ways entirely different from mine, but the nature of the phenomenon itself is altogether different.

Many analysts, otherwise thinking strictly along Freud's lines, have rejected the death instinct for what I consider valid reasons. But if one discards the instinctual nature of self-destructiveness, it is difficult within the framework of Freudian theory to account for it at all. And I wonder whether a feeling of the insufficiency of other explanations in this regard was not one of the reasons for Freud's propounding a self-destructive instinct.

Another distinct similarity exists between the demands and taboos ascribed to the superego and what I have described as the tyranny of the should. But as soon as we consider their meaning, we come to a parting of the ways. To begin with, for Freud the superego is a normal phenomenon representing conscience and morality; it is neurotic if particularly cruel and sadistic. For me the equivalent shoulds and taboos of whatever kind and degree are altogether a neurotic force, counterfeiting morality and conscience. According to Freud, the superego is partly a derivative of the Oedipus complex, partly a derivative of instinctual forces (destructive and sadistic). According to my views, the inner dictates are an expression of the individual's unconscious drive to make himself over into something he is not (a godlike, perfect being), and he hates himself for not being able to do so. Among the many implications entailed in these differences, I mention but one. Seeing the shoulds and taboos as corollaries of a special kind of pride allows for a much more accurate understanding of why the same thing is violently demanded in one character structure and forbidden in another. The same possibility for greater exactness applies also to the various attitudes an individual may have toward the superego demands—or inner dictates—some of which are mentioned in Freudian literature: attitudes of appeasement, subordination, bribery, rebellion. These are either generalized as pertaining to all neuroses (Franz Alexander) or are merely related to certain sympathetic pictures, such as depression or compulsion neurosis. On the other hand, in the framework of my theory of neurosis, their quality is strictly determined

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by the whole particular character structure. It follows from these differences that the therapeutic aim on this score is different. Freud can aim merely at reducing the severity of the superego, while I aim at the individual's being able to dispense with his inner dictates altogether and to assume the direction of his life in accordance with his true wishes and beliefs. This latter possibility does not exist in Freud's thinking.

Summarizing this far, we can say that in the two approaches certain individual phenomena are observed and described in a similar way. But the interpretations of their dynamics and meaning are entirely different. If we now leave the individual aspects and consider the whole complex of their interrelations as it is presented in this book, we see that the possibilities for comparison are exhausted.

The most significant interrelation is that between the search for unlimited perfection and powers, and self-hate. The realization that they are inseparable is an ancient one. To my mind it is best symbolized by the stories of the devil's pact, the essentials of which seem always to be alike. There is a human being in psychic or spiritual distress.[10] There is a temptation, presented in some symbol of an evil principle: the devil, the sorcerer, witches, the serpent (in the story of Adam and Eve), the antique dealer (in Balzac's *The Magic Skin*), the cynical Lord Henry Wotton (in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*). Then there are the promises of not only a miraculous riddance of the distress, but of the possession of infinite powers. And it is a testimony of true greatness when one person can resist the temptation, as the story of Christ's temptation shows. Finally there is the price to pay, which (presented in various forms) is the loss of the soul (Adam and Eve lose the innocence of their feelings), its surrender to the forces of evil. "All these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me," says Satan to Christ. The

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[10] Sometimes this distress may be symbolized by external misfortunes, as it is in Stephen Vincent Benét's *The Devil and Daniel Webster*. Sometimes it is merely indicated, as it is in the biblical story of Christ's temptation. Sometimes no distress seems to be present, but, as in the old *Faustbuch* and Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, a person is carried away by his craving for the glory of magical powers. At any rate, we know that only a psychically disturbed person will develop such a craving. In Hans Christian Andersen's "Snow Queen," it is the devil who creates the disturbance in the first place by mischievously breaking a mirror and letting its splinters invade human hearts.

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price may be psychic torment in this life (as in *The Magic Skin*) or the torment of hell. In *The Devil and Daniel Webster* we have the beautifully realized symbol of the shriveled souls collected by the devil.

The same theme, variously symbolized, but with the interpretation of its significance constant, has appeared again and again in folklore, in mythology, and in theology—wherever the basic dualism of good and evil has been entertained. Hence it has long inhabited the popular consciousness. And the time may be ripe for psychiatry too to recognize its psychological wisdom. Certainly the parallel with the neurotic process described in this book is striking: An individual in psychic distress arrogates to himself infinite powers, losing his soul and suffering the torments of hell in his self-hate.

To come back from this lengthy metaphorical statement of the problem to Freud: Freud has not seen it, and we can understand more clearly why he could not see it, when we remember that he did not recognize the search for glory as the compound of inextricably linked drives which I have described, and therefore could not realize its power either. He saw the hell of self-destructiveness clearly enough; but, regarding it as the expression of an autonomous drive, he saw it out of context.

Seen from another perspective, the neurotic process presented in this book is a problem of the self. It is a process of abandoning the real self for an idealized one; of trying to actualize this pseudo-self instead of our given human potentials; of a destructive warfare between the two selves; of allaying this warfare in the best, or at any rate the only, way we can; and finally, through having our constructive forces mobilized by life or by therapy, of finding our real selves. In this sense the problem could hardly have any meaning for Freud. In his concept of the "ego" he depicts the "self" of a neurotic person who is alienated from his spontaneous energies, from his authentic wishes, who does not make any decisions of his own and assume responsibility for them, who merely sees to it that he does not collide too badly with his environment ("reality-testing"). If this neurotic self is mistaken for its healthy alive counterpart, the whole complex problem of the real self as seen by Kierkegaard or William James cannot arise.

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Finally, we can look at the process from the perspective of moral or spiritual values. From this standpoint it has all the elements of a true human tragedy. However great man's possibilities for becoming destructive, the history of mankind also shows an alive and untiring striving toward greater knowledge about himself and the world around him, toward deeper religious experiences, toward developing greater spiritual powers and greater moral courage, toward greater achievements in all fields, and toward better ways of living. And his very best energies go into these strivings. By dint of his intellect and the power of his imagination, man can visualize things not yet existing. He reaches beyond what he is or can do at any given time. He has limitations, but his limits are not fast and final. Usually he lags behind what he wants to achieve within or outside himself. This in itself is not a tragic situation. But the inner psychic process which is the neurotic equivalent to healthy, human striving *is* tragic. Man under the pressure of inner distress reaches out for the ultimate and the infinite which—though his limits are not fixed—it is not given to him to reach; and in this very process he destroys himself, shifting his very best drive for self-realization to the actualization of his idealized image and thereby wasting the potentialities he actually possesses.

Freud had a pessimistic outlook on human nature and, on the grounds of his premises, was bound to have it. As he saw it, man is doomed to dissatisfaction whichever way he turns. He cannot live out satisfactorily his primitive instinctual drives without wrecking himself and civilization. He cannot be happy alone or with others. He has but the alternative of suffering himself or making others suffer. It is all to Freud's credit that, seeing things this way, he did not compromise with a glib solution. Actually, within the framework of his thinking, there is no escape from one of these two alternative evils. At best there may be a less unfavorable distribution of forces, better control, and "sublimation."

Freud was pessimistic, but he did not see the human tragedy in neurosis. We see tragic waste in human experience only if there are constructive, creative strivings which are wrecked by obstructive or destructive forces. And not only did Freud not have any clear vision of constructive forces in man; he had to deny their authentic

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character. For in his system of thought there were only destructive and libidinal forces, their derivatives and their combinations. Creativity and love (*eros*) for him were sublimated forms of libidinal drives. In most general terms, what we regard as a healthy striving toward self-realization, for Freud was—and could be—only an expression of narcissistic libido.[11]

Albert Schweitzer uses the terms "optimistic" and "pessimistic" in the sense of "world and life affirmation" and "world and life negation." Freud's philosophy, in this deep sense, is a pessimistic one. Ours, with all its cognizance of the tragic element in neurosis, is an optimistic one.

[11] Sigmund Freud, *On Narcissism, An Introduction,* Coll. Papers, IV.

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Metaphors of Sleep

Eve Triem

Always, the hurt bird at the dream's end . . .
like a signature: that I may know this sleeping for my own.

Whatever goes before: the rocking of white towers,
the salt-shimmered beach, the skirts like sails
in the downward wind of sleep—
enters my arms as feathers: the bleeding claw, the split beak.

Over hedges frosted with summer,
my cry is carried,
and repeated by the undesired girls:
"The boys are younger than roses,
they wear metal in these games,
and have for target their own death."

And the love-longing changes:
its perfume is bitter, like peonies, wilted.

As I wake, I hear the earth turn;
as tears wake me, the waking globe
stares at a mirror of steel,
and shudders for the struck blue, the stained breast;
and knows and names the slain bird as itself.

✪ EVE TRIEM's poems have appeared in *Poetry*, the *Yale Review*, the New York *Times*, *Voices*, the *Tiger's Eye*, the *Quarterly Review of Literature Epoch*, *Kavita* (India) and THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Her first book of poems was *Parade of Doves*.

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On Einstein's New Theory

Leopold Infeld

IN 1905, when our century was still young, Einstein was twenty-six and a clerk in the Swiss patent office. In that year, he wrote a paper that changed the face of science. It contained the basic ideas of Special Relativity Theory, and revolutionized the concepts of space and time. Einstein was the first man on our planet to deduce the relation between mass and energy—a simple but fundamental relation that, forty years later, led to the discovery and utilization of atomic energy. Thus, forty-five years ago, the first Einstein revolution in science was accomplished.

If Einstein had done nothing since then, his name would live for centuries in the history of science. Yet only ten years later, around 1915, Einstein finished his work on General Relativity Theory. Here, for the first time since Newton, a new theory of gravitation was formulated. This theory explains how the earth attracts the moon, how the planets move around each other; it explains the structure of our universe. As a logical system, Einstein's theory of gravitation is superior to Newton's old theory. Whenever the conclusions of Newton's and Einstein's theories differ, observation—the supreme judge of all physical theories—seems to favor Einstein's. Thus, thirty-five years ago, the second Einstein revolution in science was accomplished.

The characteristic feature of Einstein's genius is his complete independence of mind. He accepts no man's dogma; he thinks for himself, always and about everything. From 1918 to 1949, for over thirty years, he has worked on one of the deepest and most difficult problems in science: to find a theory that would embrace the large-scale phenomena (as his old theory of gravitation did) and, at the

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same time, the small-scale phenomena concerning the elementary particles of which atoms are built. Many scientists believed (and still believe) that so ambitious a plan can never be realized—that the laws that govern the suns and the nebulae are different from those that govern the electrons in the atom, that no unifying principle embracing both is, or ever will be, possible. Yet on this very problem, Einstein has thought incessantly, finding solutions and rejecting them because they did not satisfy his high standards of logical simplicity and beauty. While discussing a theory, Einstein would often remark to me: "Could God have created the world this way?" A good physical theory, Einstein feels, must reflect the beauty and the glory of the universe.

In 1949, Einstein was seventy years old. In this year, he believes, he found the solution for which he strove for thirty years. The results of his last two decisive steps appeared, one in *The Canadian Journal of Mathematics* (published for the Canadian Mathematical Congress by the University of Toronto Press), the other in a third edition of *The Meaning of Relativity* (published by the Princeton University Press).

Did Einstein solve the great problem of finding one law for the large- and small-scale phenomena? It may be a long time before mathematical analysis and observation pronounce their verdict—before we find the treasures hidden in Einstein's new equations. No one yet knows whether the third Einstein revolution in science has been accomplished.

The Electromagnetic Field

To understand, even in general terms, the problem on which Einstein has worked for thirty years, we must go back to the nineteenth century, to the times of James Clerk Maxwell, who was the first to create a successful field theory.

From the broadcasting antenna to my radio receiver, the radio-wave—that is, the electromagnetic wave—spreads with the velocity of light. From the atoms in a neon tube to my eye, optical rays—that is, an electromagnetic wave—spread with the velocity of light. Radio and optical waves are governed by the same laws, expressed by Maxwell's equations. They tell us how the electromag-

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netic wave, or, as we say nowadays, the electromagnetic *field*, changes in space and time, and what its physical properties are. Maxwell's theory is a *field* theory because it considers changes in time and in our three-dimensional space. It is very different from a mechanical theory that deals with such problems as the motion of the moon around the earth. In a mechanical theory, the particles and their motion are important; in a field theory, the important factors are the changes of a field in space and time.

If we analyze a piece of gossip we may be interested in the speed with which this gossip spreads and how far it penetrates. These would be the "field" aspects of the "gossip phenomenon." On the other hand, we may be interested in the men who carry the gossip and in the mechanics of their actions. These would be the "mechanical" aspects of the gossip phenomenon.

Yet, in describing the electromagnetic phenomena in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we did not use the field concepts alone. Electrons—that is, negatively charged particles—produce an electromagnetic field while in motion. Thus, in Maxwell's theory, and later in Lorentz's theory, we still find a mixture of the field and particle aspects. Particles (electrons) move in an electromagnetic field and influence the field by their motion. Yet it is the field aspect that is the new and predominant feature of Maxwell's theory.

The electromagnetic field is characterized at each point of space by two arrows or vectors. One of these represents the electric field, the other the magnetic field. But an arrow can be described by its three projections upon three mutually perpendicular axes. (An arrow in a plane is characterized by two projections, in a three-dimensional space by three). Thus the field at each point (remember that there are two arrows) is represented by six numbers, three denoting the electric and three denoting the magnetic field. These numbers change from one point to another. These two arrows, and therefore the six numbers, change at the same point from one moment to another. Maxwell's equations tell us the laws of this change. Or: the electromagnetic field is characterized by six functions of space and time. Maxwell's equations tell us how these functions change in space and time.

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The Gravitational Field

We can now characterize in general terms at least one aspect of Einstein's second revolution: it did for gravitational phenomena what Maxwell's theory did for electromagnetic phenomena.

Newton's theory of gravitation follows the mechanical pattern. Particles (moon, earth) are attracted by other particles (earth, sun). In it there is no place for the concept of field, the scenery of which is all of space. There is no place for a gravitational field spreading through space in time.

Einstein's theory of gravitation is not an improved version of Newton's theory; it is an entirely new theory based upon new assumptions, logically more satisfactory than those of Newton. Yet the results, which can be tested by observation, are very similar in the two theories. There is a great area of agreement and a small area of disagreement. The most famous new phenomenon, predicted by Einstein's theory only, is that of light rays bending while passing near the edge of the sun. Indeed, it was this phenomenon, discovered during a solar eclipse, when one can see stars near the darkened sun, that started the great fame of Relativity Theory and its creator. Another difference between the two theories concerns the motion of planets around the sun. The discrepancy between results deduced by the two theories is small, yet detectable in the case of Mercury, the planet nearest the sun. Whenever such disagreement exists, and whenever experiment can pronounce its verdict, it seems (to put it cautiously) to favor Einstein's theory of gravitation. But the importance of Einstein's achievement lies rather in the beauty and simplicity of his theory than in the discovery of new phenomena.

The gravitational field in Einstein's theory is characterized by ten functions changing in space and time. They play a role similar to that of the six functions in Maxwell's theory. Einstein's gravitational equations tell us how these functions change in space and time.

We remember that in the electromagnetic theory, we have a mixture of field and particle concepts. The field is produced by the electrons and their motion. Similarly, in Einstein's original theory,

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the gravitational field is produced by the bodies (stars and nebulae) and their motion. Thus, comparing Maxwell's and Einstein's theories, we have the following analogy:

Electromagnetic field	⟷	Gravitational field
Charged particles	⟷	Gravitational masses
Motion of charged particles	⟷	Motion of gravitational masses

Our analogy is not complete, and in some respects even misleading. We must now mention one novel feature of Einstein's field equations. The appearance of *any* form of energy is accompanied by a gravitational field. The gravitational field is influenced not only by the moving gravitational masses, but also by the electromagnetic field itself, because such a field represents energy. Thus the sources of a gravitational field lie in moving masses, in moving charges and in the electromagnetic field. A pure gravitational field can exist without an electromagnetic field. But a pure electromagnetic field cannot exist without a gravitational field.

Physics and Geometry

Let us now adopt the view of 1920 (when the structure of Relativity Theory was finished), without which we cannot understand what happened later. We see one essential difference between the gravitational and the electromagnetic field: The gravitational field is a geometrical field; the electromagnetic field is a physical field.

The understanding of the gravitational field as a geometric field is the result of one of the greatest and most revolutionary ideas that ever entered physics. It is impossible to grasp the importance of Einstein's achievement without being aware of this point. We know the properties of a Euclidean space from our high school days: through a point outside a line, we can draw one, and only one, line parallel to the given one. But since the nineteenth century we know that Euclidean geometry is only one of the many possible geometries. The simplest case of a non-Euclidean geometry would be, for example, the one experienced by two-dimensional creatures living on the surface of a sphere. They would find that a journey "straight

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ahead" (that is, along a great circle for you) leads them to their point of departure; that the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter is smaller than π.

The background of our physical events is a four-dimensional world. There is nothing mysterious about it. Every event, like the death of Julius Caesar, is characterized by the "place" and time in which it took place. The "place" of an event is characterized by three numbers; hence, together with time, we have four. The totality of all possible events forms one four-dimensional world. All this has been known and successfully applied since 1908 when the great mathematician H. Minkowski gave the beautiful four-dimensional mathematical form to Einstein's Special Relativity Theory.

Yet General Relativity Theory goes one important step futher. We ask: Is our four-dimensional world flat, like the plane in two dimensions? Or is it curved, like a curved surface of two dimensions? The difficulty with these questions is, that whereas we can easily visualize a two-dimensional flat or curved space, it is difficult to do so if the space is four-dimensional. But where our intuition stops, mathematics does not. Even before Einstein's time, the mathematics describing many-dimensional curved space was known, though it developed fully only under the impetus of Relativity. The development of this branch of mathematics is connected with the names of Gauss, Lobachevski, Bolyai, Riemann, Ricci, Levi-Civita and others. Let us say here only that a four-dimensional space is characterized by ten functions; that, once we know these functions, we know the geometry of such a space; we know whether or not such a space is curved, and how its geometry changes from point to point.

In my room I can characterize the position of the end of my pencil by quoting its distances from the ceiling and two perpendicular walls. Or, generally, the position of a point is designated by three numbers in a given coordinate system. In a town, the names of streets and house-numbers form two coordinates denoting with sufficient accuracy the positions of its inhabitants on a piece of a surface (at least when they stay at home). Similarly, in our four-dimensional world of events, we must have a coordinate system so as to name the four coordinate numbers that denote an event. But besides these, we need ten functions that tell us whether the world we describe

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(in a given but arbitrary coordinate system) is flat or not flat, or, as we often say, Euclidean or Riemannian.

We can now formulate Einstein's great and new idea: The ten functions that characterize the geometry of our four-dimensional world are the same ten functions that characterize the gravitational field. A world without masses, without electrons, without an electromagnetic field, is an empty world. Such an empty world is flat. But if masses appear, if charged particles appear, if an electro-magnetic field appears, then a gravitational field appears too. If the gravitational field appears, then our world becomes curved. Its geometry is Riemannian—that is, non-Euclidean.

Thus, the same ten functions characterize the metric and the gravitational field. The word "metric" indicates the connection between these ten functions and the geometry of our world. The word "gravitational" indicates that the same ten functions describe the gravitational phenomena of our world. The fact that we can use either or both of these words indicates that the physical gravitational field has its geometric counterpart. Physics—as far as the gravitational field is concerned—is reflected as geometry. The geometry of our world and the gravitational field are shaped, formed, by moving masses, moving electric charges, and by the electromagnetic field. Thus the connection:

$$\text{Physics} \longleftrightarrow \text{Geometry}$$

exists only for the gravitational field. We repeat: The gravitational field is a geometric field too; the electromagnetic field is a purely physical field.

About 1920, General Relativity Theory presented a curious mixture of geometry and physics. To understand Einstein's later endeavors, we must understand his reason for dissatisfaction with the structure of field theories as they were then known. Thus, in Maxwell's equations we have:

Given: Charges and their motion
Unknown: The electromagnetic field

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In Einstein's Relativity Theory, we have:

Given: Masses and their motion
Unknown: The gravitational or metrical field

In Relativity Theory, the given and unknown form a strange mixture. Mass, energy has no geometrical counterpart. But the field has!

The Two Sins

General Relativity Theory was born because of Einstein's dissatisfaction with the classical theory of gravitation. The new theory was born because of his dissatisfaction with General Relativity Theory, a weak point of which was the artificial mixture of geometric and physical concepts. But another weak point is perhaps still more important. Both the electromagnetic and the gravitational theories are dualistic theories. In both of these theories, we have sources of the field (charges, particles) and the field itself. Thus we see in both theories a mixture of two concepts: matter and field. It would be philosophically much more satisfactory if we were able to build a unitary theory based on only one of these concepts. The triumphs of field theory were too great to allow us to abandon the field concept. Hence, Einstein's aim was to build a pure field theory. In such a theory we would have only field concepts and equations of the field.

But we could argue: How can we be satisfied with field equations alone? We know that matter is as real as the stone on which we stumble. The supporter of the unitary field view would say that the existence of what is known as matter should be deduced from the field equations alone. What is regarded as matter is situated in regions in which the field is especially strong. Motion of matter means that the regions in which the field is especially strong change with time. Hence, a resting electron has to be represented in a unitary electromagnetic theory by a small region, inside which the field is very strong, and outside which it dies out quickly. Such a region, with a strong, but finite field, represents concentrated energy—that is, matter.

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A good field theory describes and interprets matter in terms of strong fields. Hence, from the point of view of logical simplicity, great progress would be achieved if both Maxwell's theory and General Relativity Theory were to change into a pure field theory. Such a theory would deal only with the concepts of the electromagnetic field, characterized by six functions, and of the gravitational field, characterized by ten functions. But the laws of these fields would have to be changed. Unlike Maxwell's theory and General Relativity Theory, such new theories would have to admit solutions representing matter. The old theories failed to do that.

But even if we were to succeed in formulating a pure field theory, such a theory would still be tainted with another fault. We saw, in the old theories, that the gravitational field was a geometrical field too, but the electromagnetic field was a purely physical field. This division is again artificial, and, according to Einstein, a satisfactory theory ought to have the following features:

1. It ought to be a pure field theory.
2. In it, electromagnetic and gravitational fields ought to be treated on the same footing—that is, both should characterize the geometry of our universe.

So Einstein tried to remove the fault of a double dualism from our theories: the dualism of field-matter and the dualism of physics-geometry—that is, the dualism of electromagnetic versus gravitational field. He believed that a search for a simple geometry of our universe, but more general than that of Riemannian geometry, would lead us to pure field equations that describe electromagnetic and gravitational phenomena. More than that: such a theory, if successful, should disclose to us the properties of elementary particles from which atoms are built, and at the same time explain the motion of planets, stars and galaxies.

The End of the Search?

Einstein believes that he may have solved this great problem. Indeed, his new theory is fully a unitary theory. In it only the field appears, no sources of the field. The existence of matter will have to

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be deduced from the field equations by finding solutions that represent great concentrations of the field. The new theory is a purely geometrical theory. Whereas the electromagnetic field is characterized, in Maxwell's theory, by six functions; whereas the gravitational field is characterized in Einstein's old theory by ten functions—in the new theory, the metrical field is characterized by sixteen (10 + 6) functions. To put this in technical language: the electromagnetic field is characterized by an anti-symmetric tensor with six components, the gravitational field by a symmetric tensor with ten components, and the geometry of the new Einstein world by a general tensor of the second order with sixteen (6 + 10) components.

In General Relativity Theory, the Einstein field equations characterized the Riemannian geometry of our world. But the geometry of our word, according to Einstein's new theory, is a non-Riemannian geometry, and Einstein's new field equations characterize this new non-Riemannian geometry of our world. Every concept that appears in the new theory has its geometrical image. The distinction between purely physical concepts and those with a geometrical interpretation is gone. The distinction between matter and field is gone too. There is only the field that is both geometrical and physical. There are only the field equations that represent the geometry of our world and the laws of physics.

The Test of the New Theory

For weak fields, we regain from the new theory the laws of the old theories—that is, Maxwell's and the gravitational equations. This must be so, because every new theory must explain the phenomena that the abandoned theory explained. As always, so here, the discarded theory appears as a first approximation to the new one.

Although Einstein's new theory has many attractive features, we do not yet know whether it is a successful unitary field theory; we do not know whether it contains solutions that can be interpreted as elementary particles. We know that the old Maxwell and Einstein theories did not give solutions of field equations that could be regarded as particles. In the old theories, the existence of matter had to be assumed independently. Will the new theory succeed where

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the old theories failed? This is a crucial question, and we do not as yet know the answer.

But the situation is still more complicated. The modern development of physics concerns quantum laws which are valid inside the atom. It is not clear whether, and in what way, such laws could be deduced from Einstein's field theory. Yet one should not be too skeptical. Einstein's work has always met temporarily with skepticism because his genius was ahead of his times. This happened twice, and it may have happened again at the turn of our half-century.

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A Discussion of Modern Painting

Edgar Levy

I. The Classical and Romantic Tempers

THE artist of the twentieth century has been subject in almost equal measure to two urgent and oppositely acting pulls. These pulls have acted as fields of aesthetic force into which have been drawn the best talents of our time. Within the orbit of one the style of Cubism has developed; within the other, Expressionism. An examination of these styles will tell us much of the nature of the forces that have determined them, and of the centers from which these forces radiate. It will also illuminate most of the vexed problems of comprehensibility and value connected with the spectacle of present day painting.

The selection of Cubism on the one hand, and Expressionism on the other, to represent the climates from which they have risen is not actuated by interest. Nor is it a random choosing from a host of rival fashions. For one thing, it is important to fix the approximate period when perplexities begin to obscure the view of the modern beholder. This would seem to be the decade 1910-1920, in which Cubism and Expressionism clearly governed the areas of painting and sculpture. Moreover, from that time to the present, these two have been the most influential and vitalizing movements in the shaping of style. A true exception to prove the rule may be found in Surrealism, which has testified negatively to their cogency by retreating, in ways to be described later, from the central tenets of both. (A rather neat trick in view of the polarity of our principals!) The work of Braque, Picasso, Leger, Gleizes, Gris and others who

✪ For the past twenty years, except for an interval during the war, EDGAR LEVY's paintings have been shown in galleries and museums in New York and elsewhere. Mr. Levy had a one-man show early in 1949.

This is the first of three articles on modern painting by Mr. Levy. The second, dealing with Cubism and Expressionism, will appear in the Winter number. The third, bringing matters up to date, will follow in the Spring number.

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subscribed to Cubist method in the years immediately preceding the First World War are well represented in our museums and private collections, and are moderately familiar to us. What do we perceive when viewing this Cubism from the vantage point of some forty years? Restraint, measure and order, a strict adherence to an exacting discipline. Cubism kept itself within positive limits in all its technical aspects as well as in its relation to nature. Its colors are either nearly monocrome (Braque, Picasso), kept low in key (Gris, Gleizes), or comprised of simple primaries (Leger, Metzinger). Shapes are delineated with sharp, decisive and carefully arranged boundaries; there is a rigid ordering of plane surfaces back and forth within the picture space to give a limited feeling of depth. Nor may we consider the selection of the planes or their shapes to be arbitrary or haphazard. They are abstracted from objects in nature and are intended, in their special way, to represent just those objects. But perhaps the fact about Cubism most pertinent to our thesis is the subordination of individual manner to a formulated style; indeed, the paintings of Braque and Picasso from this period are almost indistinguishable, those of the one from those of the other, and the whole group displays a uniformity of purpose that is strikingly obvious.

What of Expressionism? How do the works of the major Expressionists contrast with those of the Cubists? Let us consider briefly pictures by Kirchner, Kokoschka and Nolde—to name a few of the many in Germany and elsewhere that were attracted to the Expressionist movement. (No further mention will or need be made of the fact that Cubism was at first principally a French, and Expressionism a German, phenomenon. The implications to be drawn from this fact lie without the province of the present article. It is, however, worth noting.)

Notably absent is the refinement that issues from a disciplined method. Nor do we apprehend a feeling for order or a sense of limit. Replacing these is a greatly frenzied and boundless energy. Expressionism uses a fluid, nearly uncontrolled brushwork that forms shapeless shapes, and indulges its passion for violent color, dissonant color, without let or hindrance. It is almost impossible to characterize Expressionism in terms of form, so wildly does it trample on settled forms and methods in the interest of emotional outpouring. And

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where Cubism deals with the serene, often with the blithe, Expressionism produces the somber, the brooding, frequently the demonic. To the objectivity of Cubism it opposes a powerful subjectivism replete with images from a region below consciousness. Thus it, too, seems a uniform endeavor, but this is not so much the coherence of men working together as the uninterruptedly disturbed surface occasioned by private soul searching. For whether or not it is true that each such soul is unique and presents unique combinations, deep individual differences are not accessible to the observer if they cannot be referred to some fixed center of divergence. So the separate personalities of the Expressionist painters are blurred and, it seems, fused together in their collective art—to a deceptive uniformity. But the Expressionists, engaged in subjective pursuits, are truly alike only in their common impatience with the crafts and procedures that are designed for objective communication.

So much for the affective characters of the styles under discussion. Can it escape us that a venerable dichotomy is here showing itself? Is not Cubism a type of the temperament we have learned to name Classicist? Is it not clear that in Expressionism the Romantic spirit permeates and directs the whole movement?

Not since the first half of the nineteenth century, when Ingres, the Classicist, stood against Delacroix, the Romantic, has this dualism in art aligned its forces so equally. We have come to regard Delacroix, in the context of his time, as forward-moving and of greater potential for the fifty years of painting that followed him. In this respect Ingres seems static, even reactionary. So we have been persuaded that their period was generally a Romantic one for art. Artists today, however, have reassessed these giants, and those of Cubist tendency, at least, are inclined to bestow on Ingres the greater honor. In such manner are critical judgments made mutable. There are periods that are either unquestionably Classicist or unquestionably Romantic in outlook. But of one like ours, where the balance is difficult to determine, there can be no doubt that future art historians will apply measurements in terms of their own time.

Classicism and Romanticism, then, are at the root of our inquiry into the more particular aspects of painting since 1910. To profit that inquiry it becomes necessary to look back toward the nineteenth

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century and turn our attention to the work of two great progenitors of modern art, to the pictures of Paul Cézanne and of Vincent Van Gogh.

Cézanne was born in Aix-en-Provence in 1839 and died in 1906 in the same city. During his lifetime the power and breadth of his work showed no diminution, and the years 1880-1890, in which was condensed the frantic art of Van Gogh, found Cézanne in his ripeness as a painter. For the sake of the comparison, we will narrow our consideration of his work, therefore, to this period.

The "View of L'Estaque" (in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago) with the blue triangle of the Gulf of Marseilles dominating the center of the picture, is well known through loan exhibitions and at least one excellent color reproduction. In the foreground is a group of buildings seen from above, the middleground is occupied by the Gulf, and stretching horizontally across the background is a chain of mountains. A famous and often quoted remark of Cézanne's is that he wanted to make an art "solid and durable like that of the museums." The "View of L'Estaque" achieves this ambition, and it is of more than ordinary interest to discover how it does so.

We see at once that the principal Renaissance invention for the sense of spaciousness—on which solidity depends—that of linear perspective, has been discarded. The chief mechanism of linear perspective is the drawing of lines that are parallel in nature, as converging, on the canvas, to a hypothetical "vanishing point." Everyone is familiar with this illusionistic principle (railroad tracks, the roof and ground level of buildings in photographs, etc.), and it had been continuously employed in painting from its elaboration by Paolo Ucello (1397-1475) to the time of Cézanne. In the "View," Cézanne not only disregards linear perspective, but permits many of his directions to run in a contrary manner. He does not even attempt to depict lines that are parallel in nature as parallel in the picture itself, as did the Italian primitives or the Persian miniaturists. He allows them to diverge when it suits his design, rather than to converge, as linear perspective would dictate.

Allied to linear perspective is the apparently diminished size of objects as they recede in the picture space; indeed, it is clear that this is what determines the convergence of lines that are in actuality parallel.

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But this agency, too, Cézanne did not find binding and, when treating configurations in the background, he generally adopted a scale conditioned solely by the requirements of his composition.

"Aerial perspective" is a third instrumentality for achieving the effect of space. This is quite simply the result of a mass of air between the observed and the observer, which tends to veil objects, as they recede into the distance, with deepening shades of blue. Leonardo was aware of this, as were others before him; it was employed by the Impressionists (to whom Cézanne owed much). Still, Cézanne placed no particular dependence on it, and he maintained a more or less even color tone in the foreground and background of his pictures. Leonardo is credited with first using the diffuse and soft outline that contributes in good measure to the apparent roundness of his figures, and Impressionism, too, found it useful. Such haziness could not appeal to Cézanne, who directed his effort toward making precise all the elements of his arrangements.

Another possibility—the duplication of the aberrations occurring in the normal retinal image—need not be given serious thought for our purpose. Nor shall we consider the effect of binocular vision, since it is manifestly unavailable to the artist.

Three further devices, of time-honored usage, remain—and of them Cézanne availed himself for the making of a "solid and durable" art. Sensitive drawing, in which the subtly changing direction of a line is made to indicate the turning of a figure in space, is just about as old as art itself. So is the overlapping of one object with another. And modeling—derived from the observation of light falling in unequal measure—though certainly younger than the other two, is still a very ancient contrivance. Together, these have been the most direct and evocative techniques for securing three-dimensionality in pictorial art. It is the fashioning of these instruments to a perfected and contemporary form that is Cézanne's great technical contribution.

In a comparatively simple figure, a cube for example, it is not difficult to visualize the effect of line and modeling. (Overlapping is so self-evident that we will not bother to analyze its effect. It will suffice to say that the superimposition of planes has played an important part in modern painting.) Of three surfaces that may be visible (the top, let us say, and the two sides) one will probably be the darkest,

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one the lightest, and one intermediate in tone. If our cube is standing upright three vertical boundaries (of the two sides) will be seen and can be represented in a drawing by vertical lines of equal length, the center line dropped somewhat below the level of the other two. Parallel top and bottom lines may be arranged to connect the verticals at their ends, and two more added at the top to make a system of three parallelograms. Such a drawing can be made by anyone and it will achieve a good degree of illusionistic three-dimensionality—one, moreover, that may be considerably heightened if the three parallelograms are shaded with different tones. (See figures 1 and 2)

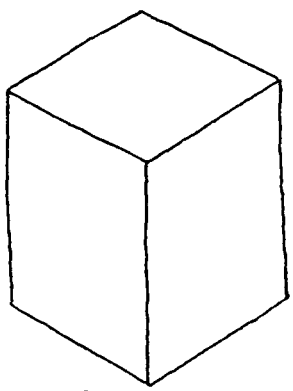

Figure 1

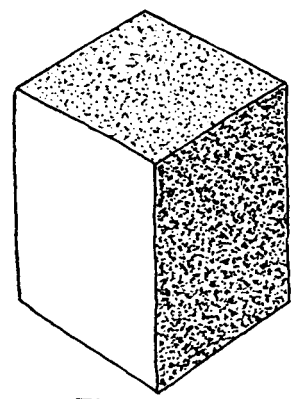

Figure 2

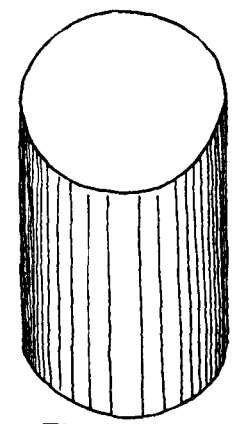

Figure 3

Now suppose the object depicted to be a cylinder. Instead of the angular top and bottom of our cube, we have a circle and a semicircle. The light and dark areas will merge, and the sharp central vertical will disappear. But further suppose—as a mathematician might—this cylinder to be not a cylinder, but the special case of a polygonal prism with an infinite number of lateral faces. If, for the sake of precise rendering, we make the number of faces finite, though of great number, we have a problem not unlike that of the cube. Two interesting possibilities exist: we may shade every face a different tone, deepening them as they recede from the light, and thus have an effect of gradual blending; or we may merely draw vertical lines to separate the faces. In the latter case we will have very much the same appearance as in the former; the lines, as they proceed in parallel order from

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the point nearest the eye, will come more closely together and so convey an effect of gradual shading from light to dark. This last has been, and still is, a favorite method for engravers and draughtsmen, extremely direct and effectual. And either method will give a close approximation of a shaded cylinder. (See figure 3)

We have labored these technicalites to make but one point: that all objects of whatever shapes may be considered as presenting to sight systems of plane surfaces, and that demarcation of these surfaces, one from the other (provided they are arranged in a logical order), will produce the most precise and tangible sense of their substantiality. This is the essence of Cézanne's method. The "View of L'Estaque" displays it elegantly. In it, as in all of Cézanne's later pictures, flat brush strokes of different colors and tonalities are separately applied to create the individual planes of the trees, buildings, hills and mountains. There is, of course, a great deal more. The compositions are surpassingly noble; the ordering of diverse parts into a unified whole leaves nothing to be desired. It is an art as serene, and as awesome in its serenity, as Giotto's. Still, its insight into the realities of landscape, into the humanity of its sitters, into the goodness of the apples in the "still lives," derives from *plasticity*, the artist's term for the substantiality of things in the visible world, transposed to canvas.

It is for the sake of plasticity that we have dealt at such length with the technical details of Cézanne's painting, as it was for the sake of plasticity that the Cubists founded themselves on his technique and carried it forward in the interest of a sane, ordered and Classical art. When we come, in due course, to the consideration of Cubism, we will find opportunity to explore this concept of plasticity somewhat more thoroughly, and to speculate on its meaning and purpose.

Vincent Van Gogh compressed a lifetime of painting within ten furious years, from 1880 to his death in 1890. In this period he passed from a clumsiness and ineptitude that were positively amateurish to a skill sufficient for the most intense expression of a generation rich with greatness. In a very real sense this progression is the key to Van Gogh's art. Consider the usual growth of the artist on whom we confer the name of genius. He shows an early aptitude for drawing or carving; after few or many vicissitudes he "arrives" at a style that

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has the stamp of authority—so much we can surely generalize. In the case of the precocious, the development will be even more rapid than Van Gogh's. Giotto, Raphael, Rembrandt, Picasso, painted important works while still in their young manhood. But the significant difference remains this: they showed aptitude early, and a felicity of hand and eye smoothed their way, however thorny it was otherwise. But the man who at twenty-seven can scarcely guide a pencil, and at thirty-seven has given the world perhaps a hundred masterpieces, must have had a specially compelling reason for teaching his heavy, unresponsive hand to do strange and expert work. Vincent Van Gogh had such a reason: he was on fire, his vision flamed beyond containment and cried to be conveyed to all men.

"Ah, but," I can almost hear my reader object, "this condition is not new or particular to those who like Van Gogh instructed their brushes late in life."

True, very true—but which is the artist that burns with passion, trembles with inner surging, and surmounts the most heartbreaking obstacles to make his waking dream palpable? Of course we have always known him: he is the Romantic. Do Van Gogh's pictures support this hypothesis, derived not from them, but from a circumstance of their creation? We need hardly answer—so well do we know the tortured cypresses, the burning skies, the wild hills and fields, and the frenzied lines that leap over the bony contours of the portraits.

The technical equipment necessary to this art is, as may be guessed, considerable, and professional to a high degree. On examination, however, it shows nothing that qualitatively can be termed an innovation. Van Gogh knew the work of Cézanne; he experimented with the pointillism of Seurat, and passed some time in the capital of France and of French art. Yet his most radical action (technically speaking) was to adopt the palette of the Impressionists, and this around 1885, when only the moribund rejected it! Cézanne's triumphant plasticity had no effect on him, and he clung to the linear perspective his first academic masters must have taught him. Everything technical is as the Impressionists have left it, except that it is charged with a violence and a freedom from restraint infinitely beyond what has appeared before. Only in color, the most subjectively determined of the paint-

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er's means, can it be thought that his accomplishment is of a different technical order from that of his contemporaries. Van Gogh believed that colors in themselves had symbolic value, and he used them as specific meanings in his pictures. And even taking into account that one man's love (or hate, or pathos, or whatever) may be purple, another's pink, still another's yellow (as Van Gogh himself felt)—that, in other words, no strict referents can be found for a language of colors—it is nevertheless true that the energizing effect of Vincent's strong reliance on them cause them to combine with one another in ways that are passionately eloquent.

Aside from this, but largely due to their vivid and startling color, the pictures have a transcendent decorative quality that is affectively as different from their subjective content as pleasure is from pain. To this decorative virtue, no doubt, we must attribute the fact that color reproductions of Vincent's paintings are "best sellers," and that in the comfortable setting of our American homes their hurtful, impassioned meaning is so often missed.

But that this is the reality that gave them birth and vigor was known very well to the Expressionists who acknowledge Vincent Van Gogh, in the long line of their extravagantly emotional antecedents, as the one most immediate to their aims and desires. To these Expressionists, and to the Cubists, a further article will be devoted.

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The Microscopic Eye

An Apology for the Rural Introvert

Joseph Wood Krutch

THE HOUSE in which I live is what some people would call "shut in." It is on a not much traveled road near the top of a hill, but there are higher hills round about and there is not much "view."

That is the way I like it, and this, I suppose, is one of the signs that I belong to that class called introverts, of whom the wake-up-and-live psychologists so sharply disapprove. Many of us, however, are not particularly sorry for ourselves, and some of these psychologists would be surprised at how much satisfaction we take in things which would not suit them at all. We do not mind being shut in if we can choose the people and the things we are shut in with.

Too long a view in either time or space makes people miss a great deal that is close at hand, and it is my experience that those who are quickly bored in the country are usually those who lack "the microscopic eye," those to whom "nature" means only "scenery," and "scenery" means only "views." Charles Lamb once declared that he would not much care if he never saw another mountain, and, while I would not by any means go so far, I think I know what he meant. To know nature only that way is like knowing a city only by its skyline. To feel the life of either city or country, one must be actually in it, aware of the excitement and variety of individual lives. People are often blamed because they cannot see the wood for the trees, but that does not seem to me so bad as not seeing the trees for the wood.

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Summer especially is a time for the short view. In winter not so much is going on, and by way of compensation the large forms of trees and hills are revealed in all their beautiful nakedness. But summer is too fully clothed to reveal form on this scale. The trees are muffled in leaves, the outline of one merges into that of the other, and they combine to blur the shapes of the earth itself. For form one must now look close—at the individual leaf or flower in front of one's eyes, or at the shoot coming up out of the ground.

A few years before the most recent world war, a fanatical German published a typically German book of startling photographs called *Urformen der Kunst*. Its thesis was that all man's conceptions of abstract form, whether architectural, structural or decorative, came from the natural forms of stems, buds and seed pods. His magnified images were startlingly effective and even if one is not willing to follow him all the way, one thing is certain. To whatever extent man has copied nature's inventions in his own building, it is the detail of plants that he has copied. Art can do little with a landscape except to reproduce a somewhat schematized image of it. The grand forms of hill and valley offer no hints to the architect or the designer. He cannot build as the earth is built; nor is there in hill and valley any formal design which he can copy.

Landscape is not inclined to geometry. The human mind is; most living things are. They employ, as man does, the circle, the sphere, the triangle and the star. Tree and herb alike demonstrate how stresses may be calculated and supported by struts, buttresses and columns like those which man will use. Also, and unlike the hill or the valley, they reveal how regularity and repetition constitute the essential elements of formal design. If we did not borrow from living nature a very large part of the art of both building and design, then we, being also living things, independently discovered what the builders of branches, the designers of seed pods, the constructors of shells and bones, discovered before us. And it is all this which passes unnoticed in the mere general view.

That cult of the sublime which developed in the eighteenth century, and which is generally credited with the creation of the great body of romantic nature-poetry, was, I am convinced, an enemy of another kind of appreciation of nature which means more

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to me. For this cult focused attention on landscape, and encouraged a mere vague ecstasy, whose devotees, instead of really examining nature, projected upon her their own fancies. Mountains served chiefly the purpose served by the crystal ball of the pseudo-seer or the glittering speculum of the hypnotist. Those who gazed upon them went into a sort of trance, which may have helped to bring out something in them, but discovered nothing outside themselves. If nature is to be learned from, she must be known, and to be known she must be looked at. Your Wordsworthians hated naturalists because they were afraid the naturalist might take them out of themselves and show them something they did not want to see.

II

Even an amateur like myself will seldom lack something to see if he will only look. "Lift up thine eyes unto the hills" is a religious exhortation. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," is a scientific one. And, at least for certain temperaments, it is the more fruitful. Because I obey it, the place where I am is never really the same place two days in succession, and I can take every morning the same short walk down a certain wood road because it is not really the same walk.

Certain things, to be sure, repeat themselves with the seasons. One morning in autumn there are shooting crystals of ice in a puddle where before there was only water; one morning in spring there will be water where for long months there has been only the glassy ice. But from that morning on, hardly a day will pass when some old friend is not to be greeted anew. Even the most casual observers are seldom unaware of the unrolling of the ferns—partly because they come early, before there is any lush undergrowth, and partly because they are so striking in themselves. "Fiddle-backs" they are commonly and inevitably called, and no doubt the curl on the end of the neck of the modern violin was copied from them. But the Doric capital also either copies or re-invents that spiral unrolling, and the emerging form is one of the most obvious of the *Urformen der Kunst*.

So, too, are the reinforced columnar fruiting stems of the Equisetum, or horsetail, which push up at about the same time, though not in the same place. For the Equisetum prefers stony ground, and

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around here it thrusts itself upward with astonishing force through the compact tar and gravel at the edge of my hard-surfaced road. Fairly early, too, I look for the queer shaped flowers of what the delicate call wood betony and the downright call lousewort. Last of all, and writing finis to the season—possibly after frost has already come—the yellow flowers of the witch hazel break out unexpectedly. Perhaps, though I do not know, the "witch" part was first suggested by this perverse blooming habit. It seems as dangerously abnormal as the crowing hen who was once thought to have given her soul to the devil.

Some things grow fast and some grow slow. The puff ball rounds itself out to melon size almost overnight, and the huge yellow mass of the gelatinous fungus which attacks rotten wood is suddenly there where it wasn't the last time one passed by. At the other extreme are the lichens, sometimes a foot in diameter on a boulder, and yet, to the eye, precisely the same size for five years on end. Some say that certain giant individuals of this family must have lived through whole millenniums, and that it is they, rather than the Redwoods of our Western coast, which are the oldest living things on earth. Once when I was arranging a terrarium to remind me during the long winter months what summer is like, I spent a good deal of time searching for a lichen on a smallish stone before my dull mind realized that I was asking for the impossible. Only a boulder or slab heavy enough to stay put for many years on end can acquire a lichen large enough to be noticed. Moss grows rather quickly, and what a rolling stone really can't gather is lichens.

But not everything is regularly recurrent along this same half-mile stretch of wood road. Last autumn, for example, a certain low bank covered with leaf-mold was star-scattered for the first time with the curious mushroom called Geaster, a kind of puff-ball whose outer skin splits into petal-like segments which reflex until they form a five-pointed star with a round button in the middle—another striking example of nature's decorative use of geometrical design. I have now seen them once, but there are other queer things which I have never come across. For years I have poked hopefully at rotting logs (and found a great many suprising things in them), but I have never come across myxomycete, one of the puzzles and

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parodoxes of the natural world, which is said not to be uncommon. A mobile film of jelly often several inches square, it is (so the books say)—neither plant nor animal, neither a colony nor an individual. It flows along like an amoeba, but it forms spores and reproduces like a mushroom. It seems to be a single individual, yet, if broken into pieces, each individual piece not only can live indefinitely by itself, but can also, if it meets its better or worser half again, merge with it to become again one individual!

Until last night I had never seen another paradox—the flying squirrel. Many other country dwellers, I imagine, have also never seen one, for, though they are said to inhabit forested regions throughout all America, they are so exclusively nocturnal that one may live surrounded by them without ever knowing that they exist. It was one of my cats who brought me a specimen last night, and who made an unusual fuss over it, almost as though he knew that it was a novelty which I should examine. My first impulse was, as usual, to scold. But he had only done what most naturalists who profess, as he does not, to love nature, would have done when meeting a strange animal for the first time. There are only two differences. One is that whereas the cat "kills," the naturalist "collects." The other is that the naturalist would have stuffed the squirrel and that the cat stuffed himself. His belly, I am afraid, is a museum which has in its time housed a great variety of specimens.

III

Some modern painters have, of course, gone to living nature in their search for formal design. Georgia O'Keefe's often scandalous analogies are, in America at least, especially well known. But it surprises me that most of the abstractionists who go in for the geometrical seem to prefer as a source of inspiration the man-made machine, rather than the plant which was the original inventor of most geometrical design. Such design hardly exists in inanimate nature, except in the case of the misleading crystal, which so often looks as though it were the product of organic growth and seems to mock the creations of that life in which it has never had any share. But living things are almost always "well designed."

Most of the functionless pseudo-machines which one kind of

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abstractionist designs on canvas or realizes in metal masses, or the still more grotesque "mobiles" of the avant-garde galleries, strike me as comically futile. They are not nearly so beautiful as the actual and purposeful steam turbines, electric generators, and Gantry-cranes which they seem to be attempting to improve upon. And however philistine my reaction may be, they generally suggest to me not their often beautiful originals, but those insane mechanical fantasies which Mr. Goldberg once made famous.

If I were a painter or a sculptor more interested in design than in story-telling, it seems to me that I should go instead to the living organisms, which, to anyone who looks closely, exhibit many examples of "modern" geometrical design. I should go to the blossom, which usually builds up a pattern of fives or threes; to the seed pods, which come in an infinite variety of boxes, flasks and urns; even, if I wanted a "mobile," to the ripe fruit of the wild geranium, whose effective catapult was tossing hard round seeds many millenniums before the military engineers of the Renaissance discovered that the same principle could be used to hurl boulders at an enemy. Curiously enough, it seems that the smaller the living unit, the more exquisitely elaborate and perfect the form will be. Pollen grains which no man saw before the invention of the microscope come in an endless variety of regular shapes, and many of them are embossed or engraved with patterns which rival in intricacy those sculptured on the glass shells of the microscopic bivalves called diatoms.

IV

Man is a lonely creature. A very great deal—perhaps all—of his religion and his art has been an attempt to discover or to read into the universe outside himself something which corresponds to certain things which he finds *in* himself. So far as literature in concerned, that means finding, especially, purposes and values. So far as the plastic arts are concerned, it means finding regular design—for geometry is hardly less important to man than morality is.

In his pictures he schematizes landscapes or arranges groups of figures into pyramidal or other patterns because it comforts him to sense such patterns in a representation of nature, and he arranges the trees and the hills of his landscapes into similar patterns. But the

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formalists who conclude therefore that the purest art is that which gives us design itself, rather than design discovered in or imposed upon recognizable objects, are quite wrong. And they are quite wrong because it is not the mere existence of the design, but the discovery (or the illusion) that it exists in nature, in something outside ourselves, which reassures us.

In nature itself, it is not the grand aggregation of growing things, but the individual plant or part of a plant, which unmistakably reveals that the design is actually there, that nature herself can geometrize. Perhaps no more than the first faint beginnings of what the philospher or the poet will recognize as purpose or the establishment of values can be found there, but humanly recognizable design is already fully developed. One might travel to all the famous "beauty spots" of the earth and come home again uncomforted—not sure, I mean, that even formal design as we recognize it exists outside ourselves. But almost any roadside weed, closely looked at, will demonstrate beyond any possible doubt that it does. We are not alone in understanding or needing it.

Perhaps an unwillingness to acknowledge that fact is the perverse reason that leads so many modern artists to prefer to find form in machinery. If I am right in a certain suspicion which has forced itself upon me, our tendency to get away from nature is an expression of a fundamental perversity which is leading man to prefer a sense of isolation; to stress, rather than to minimize, his uniqueness and his aloneness. He seems increasingly to prefer to believe that he is not part of nature, but something separate from it, and therefore to be most pleased when the world in which he lives is as completely as possible artificial. Even his pictures must be pictures, not of natural objects, but either of states of soul or of the machine. God made the country and man made the town. Man belongs, ergo, with brick, and mortar, and iron.

Personally, I feel both happier and more secure when I am reminded that I have the backing of something older and perhaps more permanent than I am—the something, I mean, which taught the flower to count five and the beetle to know that spots are more pleasing if arranged in a definite order. Some of the most important secrets are, they assure me, known to others besides myself.

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Leaves on My Garden Chair

Dorothy Lee Richardson

This much of summer passed me while I slept.
This much of moulting earth dropped off to die.
This plumage flying bright against the sky
(Red maple, golden willow leaf) was swept
Away, with my shut mind and covered eye

Oblivious of the loss of leaves, which go
(Like years) at first almost unnoticed where
Thinned tops are hid by foliage massed below,
Till, looking up one day at wet first snow,
One suddenly sees that all the boughs are bare.

Not yet, thank God, my snow begins to fall.
My season is this season of the year,
Blue, late September, painted proud with all
The hues of life fulfilled, and yet so near
Destruction that it shimmers through a tear.

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So short the time! So late the season grows,
But holding such a store of beauty yet,
I would that not one petal of one rose
Might fall but on the wind of my regret,
That I might clutch at every hour which blows

Across the darkening lawn of time where lingers
No rapture nor wrench, where hours and leaves are swept
Into their piles and burned, and none is kept.
Oh, red as these leaves I let slide through my fingers,
This much of life slipped past me while I slept!

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Some Affirmative Suggestions for a Loyalty Program

Morris L. Ernst

WE HAVE had an ample amount of hysteria in regard to the Loyalty Program. Much of it has been caused by a lack of concern about facts; hysteria usually develops from ignorance. The statistical facts are simple. Congress decided to remove from Civil Service at "the exit end" the Department of Defense, the State Department and the Atomic Energy Commission. In other words, in these areas a person may now lawfully be fired under mandate of Congress without any accusation and without any hearing. It is interesting to note that many who were top officials in the Roosevelt administration have indicated that they are in favor of abolishing Civil Service at the exit end in all departments, for all employees in sensitive areas, or in fact, all employees in important positions. This has long been urged regardless of the factor of security or loyalty, and has been supported by worthy citizens as a measure to improve the service in various large government departments. True enough, it has the capacity of resulting in a spoils system.

Congress voted money so that the FBI could make reports on the two and one-half million government employees operating in other agencies in the government. Under the Atomic Energy Act, the FBI also reports on employees. The latest figures indicate that there was no evidence of hysteria on the part of the FBI. It did its job as ordered, and, interestingly enough, decided up to May 5, 1950, that only about 11,813 employees of the two and one-half million merited full investigation. The balance of about 2,490,000 were

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found to have a record that raised no question of division of loyalty. Of the 11,813 the public is apparently ignorant of the fact that the Civil Service Commission as of March 31, 1950, reports that only 202 were severed from service as a result of the President's Loyalty Order. As a footnote to show the extent of the protections provided, we should remember that the Civil Service Loyalty Review Boards reversed findings of potential disloyalty in 143 cases. As another footnote, it might be stated that 1,406 left the service during investigations and 1,028 left prior to adjudications by the Loyalty Hearing Boards. Such severances may have resulted from a consciousness of guilt or have occurred for reasons entirely irrelevant to any question of loyalty.

In brief, numerically the proceedings were carried on in such an orderly fashion that some day, if some Communists are found in sensitive spots, there may develop an hysterical movement to fire Hoover and the Review Boards because they allowed a few to seep through.

I have not much sympathy for the worthy liberals who merely shout down the Loyalty Program and who fail to offer a constructive suggestion about its operation or about a machinery to replace it. There were at the start, according to the not too reliable press, quite a few cases outrageously tried—where the rights of individuals, it seemed to me, were not properly protected. Students of the situation have recently come to the conclusion that the imperfections in the hearings in some of the early cases were cured, or at least substantially improved, in later cases.

Let's wake up. We are facing an utterly new problem in American life. For a century and a half this nation has had to cope with individual behavior patterns involving government employees who had a division of loyalty involving another sovereignty. If today we had only to face the fact that there are more such individuals behaving in disloyal fashion, we would not need any new or additional loyalty protective programs. The old-fashioned spy, who used to bribe the stenographer or fall in love with the boss, is easy to cope with. But we are at war. It is a good war. Unfortunately, it is called a cold war. In my opinion it is a hot war, a non-shooting war. It is a war for the minds of men, and we can lose it without losing a

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life. Communist dictatorship has never been attained through a vote of a majority of the people ultimately to be squeezed into intellectual starvation. What we are facing are the new dangers derived from secret organized efforts of dictatorships. We must cope with a new kind of organized stealth and anonymity. It is not easy to devise machinery to handle organized sneaks. The avowed Communist is no problem compared to the thousands who are crypto-Communists—who deny that they are Communists. Heywood Broun used to say: "People call me a Communist. I say I am not a Communist. They don't believe me. They are right not to believe me, because they know if I were a Communist I would swear I am not a Communist."

In brief, no one would believe the head of the Communist party under oath. And so we are faced with a difficulty of proof, since in the final analysis the normal way to prove that a person is or is not a Communist is to subpoena the head of the movement and the membership records—both of which no one would trust. It is this *secret* movement which no doubt impelled the President's executive order. The Attorney General prepared a list of organizations which in his opinion contained the roots of "subversive" elements. The simplest approach to this phase of the problem is to remember that "to subvert" means "to turn under" and that the organizations on the Attorney General's list had "turned themselves under." For my part, I was shocked that the list was published without hearings. However, after the publication, the Attorney General announced that any organization could come into his office for a hearing. So far as I know, such proffer of conference was not fully accepted by any single organization on the list. My examination of the list indicates that not a single one of the organizations has ever made full disclosure to the American people. This is the root of the problem and the root of the evil.

Through such secret organizations, decent Americans have been placed in an area of doubt from which it was difficult to remove themselves, since the Communist party obviously thrives on tainting democracy and is unconcerned with injury done to non-Communists. The more the wild and stupid press and some members of Congress improperly label people as subversive or Communist, the happier the

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Communist party is. If I had my way, I would provide a list of politically active organizations to be compiled *after hearings*, and would only put on the list organizations which have failed to make full disclosure of finances, membership, officers and activities. The United States Supreme Court has upheld as constitutional the drawing of a line between secret benevolent societies or college fraternities, on the one hand, and the Klan, on the other. This in relation to the New York statute calling for Klan disclosure. The answer to our basic dilemma is disclosure rather than suppression, and I am in full accord with the position taken by J. Edgar Hoover, who has repeatedly indicated his opposition to the outlawry of the Communist party. We must all know that we cannot outlaw anything more than a name, and that if the Communist party is outlawed, it may well bob up under a new name such as the "American Peglerites" or some other respectable title. I would go further; I would provide that an organization on the list should have a right to purge itself on making disclosure.

I would then limit the impact of a loyalty or security program to those who have relationships to secret groups, and I would have individual behavior patterns handled as we have done over the past century and a half, without relationship to the new loyalty or security program.

As to the trials of individuals where the proof would rest primarily on relationships to secret underground organizations, I would allow the fullest latitude to the review boards, since we have to pinprick our way into the degree of intimacy of relationship which would raise a question of division of loyalty. It might be money contributions; it might be official activity; on the other hand, it might be the most innocent kind of a well-motivated desire to join in what was deemed to be non-subversive activities. Most of the people who joined the organizations on the Attorney General's list were no doubt mere suckers, and above all, careless with their names and reputations. Many of them, if asked to endorse a toothpaste, would have applied greater scrutiny than when they were asked to endorse the most precious commodity known to man—ideas. I would go further and provide that an individual could purge himself. There is no such thing in life as sinning without repentance and

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possible salvation. Stupidly enough, we prevent people from getting out of the Communist party. It is my best judgment that a third of the members of the Communist party under thirty years of age would get out if it were not for the social and economic ostracism presently existing in our culture. To be sure, the Communist party keeps many of them prisoners through blackmail by notifiying employers as to ex-Communists, provided the ex-Communist has publicly announced his divorce from that evil movement. But under a decent loyalty program, an individual should always be free to step up to the counter and say: I joined that movement and now, since I have thought it over and since I know that it is a band of uncourageous sneaks, I am withdrawing. Whether the Board believes the particular employee or not would be a question for proof in each case.

I would go further, and provide that the hearings should be either public or private, according to the request of the employee. I would add that, if an employee has been absolved, an announcement should be issued—if *he* so request.

But above all, it is important that the loyalty program be limited to sensitive jobs. I should imagine that 90 per cent of all the jobs in the United States raise no security or loyalty questions. I would not have a Communist in my law office, since the practice of the law involves trust of other people's secrets. No sane person would have a Communist work in sensitive areas of the Atomic Energy Commission. Hence, a fundamental improvement in the situation could be accomplished by a clearer definition within each department, bureau or agency of the areas which are sensitive. This may require considerable reshuffling. The definition of "sensitivity" will mean the development of standards and definitions. I understand that, in one bureau, over a hundred spots were originally declared to be sensitive. On re-examination, plus reshuffling of scrub women, changing of locks on doors and the like, the number was reduced to about twenty. The definition of sensitive areas in itself would greatly simplify the problem, and certainly reduce the work involved. Many a person unemployable in a sensitive job might well be shifted, as is done in England, to non-sensitive areas. I would not want a person of even a potential division of loyalty to be employed cleaning out

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the trash baskets at the White House, but I should imagine no one would object if such a person were given a job picking up leaves in a public park in Washington. With the limitation of the entire program to sensitive jobs in sensitive agencies, a further improvement might be made—the advent of a realization that no one has a right to a government job, and that, in this great war with dictatorships, the first duty of a government employee is to protect the sovereignty of the state.

Many of my liberal friends have opposed the creation and activities of the review boards. I am violently in favor of them, and I think they have done an efficient and selfless job. It will be interesting to see if the conclusions reached by the group studying this matter for one of the big foundations will not soon come out with a finding to the same effect. The reason that I favor outside review boards—that is, boards composed of persons not in the professional employ of the government—is that such persons are further removed from contact with Congress, and hence may produce an additional bit of courage. With Congress what it is, the head of an agency might lean backward to protect himself, whereas the outside review board, not having to go to Congress for appropriations and the like, would be more inclined to look with greater objectivity on the evidence.

I cannot in this brief article outline every detail of what I conceive to be necessary for an ideal loyalty program, but there is one further aspect of any such program which must be mentioned.

I have followed the FBI with great care for many years. I started with a basic human suspicion of all constabularies. In my judgment, the FBI is the single greatest police force in the world, and I am happy to say that Roger Baldwin, the great driving force of the American Civil Liberties Union for many years, has said, with respect to its over-all activities: "It seems to me that your Bureau has accomplished an exceedingly difficult task with rare judicial sense." Any loyalty program must depend on reports. The FBI is a reporting agency. It has no power to hire or fire anyone, except its own employees. It is the duty of the FBI to turn over *all* facts to the employing agencies. Some worthy liberals at one time urged that the FBI files should be screened. It is no doubt true that there is

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much in the files of the FBI that is either anonymous or is a pick-up of alleged facts uttered by all kinds of persons, reliable or unreliable. Some people urge that the FBI files should be deleted of all such so-called gossip material. This, in my opinion, would be a greater danger than any conceivable loyalty program. If the reporting agency is ever in a position to take a single document out of this file, it will have the power to make anyone either an angel or a devil. The FBI should continue, as in the past, to turn over *all* the information it gets. The employer (that is, the government agency) should take the information and review it—and the heads of government departments are paid to be tough enough to disregard evidence that they think is immaterial, or irrelevant, or unworthy of credence. I also want the FBI to continue to receive anonymous communications or information from sources which have made anonymity a condition of the transmission. The files of the FBI would be greatly weakened if anonymous telephone calls or confidential communications were rejected. Many of the most important jobs done by the FBI were no doubt brought into being by an original tip from a person who did not care to be involved at a hearing or a court trial. The FBI should, if a reporting agency desires it, evaluate the source when the informant wants his identity withheld. It could indicate, for example, that such information came from a sick old woman or from a lawyer of repute of, say, twenty years' standing. As I understand it, the FBI offered, in the loyalty field, either to remove all communications from confidential sources or to evaluate them where possible. The Civil Service Loyalty Board naturally chose the latter course.

In the last analysis the single greatest difficulty comes from the fact that in many situations the reporting agency is in no position to divulge the source of its information: this, because either the informant has not given his name, because he has only given the information on condition that he remain anonymous, or because the divulging of the source would destroy this source as a means of getting other and even more valuable information.

I am not sure that I know exactly how to handle this phase of the dilemma. It may be that the Appeal Board should, in each such instance, declare that it has examined the situation, and that in its

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opinion the undivulged source has been weighed in the light of the evaluation of the material supplied by the reporting agency. It is this final dilemma that has driven many people to urge the right of free discharge of all employees in sensitive jobs—free in the sense that there be no need for any hearing.

My own feeling, however, is that the entire Loyalty Program arises from the inability of our society to come to grips with anonymous secret groups. The President's Committee on Civil Rights came out unanimously in favor of disclosure by organized groups in our society. I have long been in favor of such a measure. We are operating under a Bill of Rights, which guarantees freedom to speak or not to speak. In my opinion, to the extent that we say to our people: you can either be sneaks or you can stand up publicly, say what you think and be defended—we do encourage the development of further stealth. We now have legislation for disclosure as to magazines and newspapers, disclosure under SEC regulations, the Pure Food and Drug Act, and disclosure as to lobbying. I am not concerned with disclosure of the speaker or writer, because he is always disclosed, but I want to know for whom he is speaking, or for whom he is writing. The great Negro organizations and the spokesmen for the two great labor organizations have come out in favor of disclosure.

It cost $50,000 to run the picket line at the White House up to the time that Hitler attacked Stalin. I would defend the right of the pickets, but I think the public has a right to know for whom they were picketing—who put up the money? I was told that a million dollars was collected by the Communists in the Scottsboro case. I have looked into the matter, and I am convinced that not over $60,000 was spent directly in the defense of the case, which Judge Leibowitz carried on without compensation or reimbursements. What happened to the other $940,000?

The lowest estimate I have received as to the amount of money which will be raised in the defense of the eleven convicted Communists and their attorneys is two million dollars. They have a right to raise that amount of money. Haven't we the right, as a people, to an accounting? My theory as to disclosure is not one limited to Communists. It relates to all substantial organized efforts. I have seen the list of fifty people who gave from $5000 to $50,000

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apiece to Gerald L. K. Smith. I would defend the right of Gerald L. K. Smith to send his evil literature through the mails, but I submit that disclosure of the names of the persons for whom Gerald L. K. Smith was speaking is part of the democratic function, where a government's main duty is disclosure and not suppression.

The Loyalty Program, or, as it might be called, the Security Program, will bother us as long as we fail to come to grips with this new element facing our culture—mass organized groups working with vast funds to get to the minds of our people. If the loyalty proceedings, with all of its defects, has done nothing else, it has no doubt brought to the attention of careless suckers the need for realizing that their names have value, and that they should not join organizations which refuse to make disclosure. To be sure, under a dictatorship, secrecy and stealth are necessary for minority points of view, but in this country, conducting its great and successful experiment in the direction of a free market place of thought, we cannot believe any longer that truth will win out in the market place if the market place is corrupted by the pumping in of ideas in pamphlet or other form with no one knowing who the backers of the ideas are. I should imagine that even those who are opposed to every inch of the Loyalty Program are worried when they realize that in the white primary fight in Georgia there were innumerable expensively printed gazettes and magazines favoring the white primary, and practically all of these carried fake names or no names.

Since the great minority groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the CIO and the AFL, operating in most unfriendly areas, declared in favor of disclosure, I am still waiting for one example of a group which would have anything to fear by complete disclosure. To be sure, the shiftover from stealth to aboveboardness might cause some turmoil and discomfort, but I for my part am much more concerned with the discomfort of innocent people than I am with those who want to play an underground role. And with disclosure, in a very short time we will be able to defend more effectively *all* ideas in an open market place of thought.

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Negro Colleges of Liberal Arts

Ruth Danenhower Wilson

THE more than eighty year history of the liberal arts college for Negroes is little known. All of these institutions grew from missionary enterprises started by Northern whites who, at the call of the generals after the Civil War, followed in the wake of the victorious forces. Thousands of slaves had fled or been abandoned by their owners. In General Ben Butler's famous phrase, they became "contrabands of war," charges of the Union Army. There then began what Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois has aptly called "the crusade of the schoolmarms." For these missionaries were so zealous that, although ministering to freedmen, most of them illiterates, they projected a full duplicate of their own New England program of liberal arts education. A few educated Negroes also collaborated.

Missionary zeal had long before sought converts among Negroes of the American colonies, and taught many to read the Scriptures. During the eighteenth century, especially after the American Revolution gave stimulus toward equal rights, literacy was not legally barred to slaves. Some picked up learning with the children of their masters; for others, schools were started. At the end of the century, however, the revolution in Santo Domingo, followed by three slave insurrections in this country, gave rise to the feeling that a literate Negro was a dangerous Negro. Could he not forge slave passes, as well as read to himself and his fellows the inflammatory literature of the abolitionists? Virginia passed laws aimed especially at the Quakers, who, like the Roman Catholics in Louisiana, had started schools for Negroes. Other Southern states soon passed similar laws. South Carolina even made it illegal for Negroes above the number of five to assemble for educational or religious purposes except at meetings conducted by a recognized white minister and attended by at least "two discreet and reputable white persons."

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The situation worsened as booming rice production and the perfection of the cotton gin increased the importation of slaves, and expanded a system that carried with it little hope for the systematic education of Negroes. The personal relation of slaves with master and mistress gave way in the deep South to absentee ownership of large plantations managed by professional overseers, with the aid of slave drivers, black or white. Thus the light of learning was all but extinguished, except for bootleg study in slave cabins illuminated by pine torches.

So when Emancipation came, the crusading schoolmarms had to start with little except the desire for learning. Pupils, old and young, crowded into makeshift, ill-equipped schoolhouses, often bringing Bibles as their only textbooks. The teachers made of such schools real social settlements and trained many youngsters, who, when they had a chance at higher education, became leaders of their race.

Already there were a few institutions for those who could get to them. Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, near the Maryland border, had been chartered in 1866 under that name, after having been founded in 1854 as Ashman Institute. It had aid from the Presbyterian Church for training missionaries for Africa. Two years after the war, the Baptist Home Missionary Society of New York had organized the Augusta Institute, which afterwards became Morehouse College of the Atlanta University group. In the same year, Talladega College was started in Alabama by the American Missionary Society of New York.

The next stage towards liberal arts colleges was the period of the Freedmen's Bureau, which was begun in 1872 and authorized a year later to concern itself with education. Under this bureau, an effort was made to coordinate the educational opportunities, to avoid duplication of schools in some places, and to start schools in others. General Oliver O. Howard, the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, organized the university in Washington which was named after him, and of which he later became president. General Clinton B. Fisk, the head of the Bureau's Western Branch, helped secure the site at Nashville for the university which bears his name.

These academic colleges met with scorn from the planter class, who traditionally had the prerogative of education, and with vio-

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lence from the poor whites to whom free schools were practically unavailable. There were many instances of incendiarism. In 1870 the Reverend Dr. William Luke, the president of Talladega College, was shot down by a mob while on his way to preach at a rural Negro church. The slayers returned to the college to tell where his body lay. Under fear of further attack, a little band of white faculty members and Negro helpers went out to find the martyr and conduct his burial. . . . In 1932 an American flag was shot down from in front of the President's house at Talladega. Only three years ago, there were Ku Klux Klan demonstrations on Talladega's campus and also at Tougaloo, the one liberal arts college for Negroes in Mississippi.

Nor has the North had much justification for self-righteous condemnation of Southern opposition to Negro education. At earlier dates, there had been riots in Connecticut and in New Jersey over attempts to start schools for Negroes there. In New Hampshire, indignant neighbors once came by night and hauled a Negro schoolhouse off into a swamp.

With the ending of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1879, the difficulties of Negro colleges increased. Newly reorganized Southern legislatures were passing laws to nullify civil rights of Negroes. The zeal of the abolitionists was lessening with the passing of some of their leaders. The order of the day was indifference to the plight of the freedmen, except as a labor supply for the industries which Northern capital was beginning to develop in the South.

Then a new movement was initiated—one advocating vocational training. While an aid to Negroes in many ways, this seemed to the leaders of liberal arts colleges a body blow dealt by one of their own race. For from Hampton Institute (which General Samuel C. Armstrong had started) came that marvel of the times, Booker T. Washington, a Negro capable of organizing an institute and becoming its president. He championed at Tuskegee the obvious need of agricultural, mechanical and industrial training for Negroes. At the same time, he conciliated the white South by preaching resignation to a separate, segregated life. Northern promoters of Southern industries contributed to such vocational institutes, knowing that manual workers must be literate to be efficient. Vast numbers of Negroes approved vocational training, which would increase their earning power

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by teaching them to reclaim depleted soils and to regain the skills of slavery days, when the fine iron grillwork, the jewelry making, cooperage, harness-making, carpentry and cabinet work had been done in large part by Negro artisans. The vocational program was also acceptable to Southern legislators, who gradually built up state-supported normal, industrial and mechanical institutes for Negroes, but balked at anything resembling a liberal arts program.

Federal support was later given to the same theory of education. In 1890 the Morrill Act created land-grant colleges in which vocational work is mandatory. In the second Morrill Act, two years later, institutions for Negroes were included, and these now exist in seventeen Southern or border states, with equality in the division of Federal funds between the races. The years between 1895 and 1917, however, were those of starvation for Negro liberal arts colleges. They managed somehow to keep alive, clinging desperately to Horace Mann's belief in "the perfectibility of the race through education." The dates of the buildings on the campuses attest these lean years, with construction at a standstill except for an occasional Carnegie Library. Old buildings became shabby and outmoded and campuses neglected, while the overworked faculty struggled on with scanty equipment and starvation salaries.

In this period Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, a graduate of Harvard who was teaching at Atlanta University, led the protest, pointing out that Tuskegee itself and the other vocational institutes that were springing up would have had no faculties but for the graduates of liberal arts colleges. To those who held that before colleges were attempted there should first be a complete public secondary school system for Negroes, Dr. Du Bois replied that in colonial days Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale flourished before there were many common schools. Those colleges furnished the leaders to build up public school systems.

It is now realized that Booker T. Washington himself was not against higher education for those of his group he felt were ready for it. Both his wives were graduates of Fisk. At Tuskegee he had his sons tutored in academic subjects by a graduate of Brown University. One of them later received a B.S., the other a B.A. degree. His daughter had a fine musical education in this country and in Ger-

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many, and married an architect. Booker T. Washington in the last years of his life acknowledged in public speeches the advisability of academic education for many of his people. Mrs. Frederic Sumner, whose husband was president of Talladega College, recalls that two years before his death Booker T. Washington said to Dr. Summer, "You're right. It takes a trained intelligence to teach even the driving of nails straight."

His pronouncement did not come in time to help the liberal arts colleges greatly. Their leaders' attempts to raise funds had too often met with the rejoinder, "If you would only teach practical courses—" There is a tradition at Lincoln University that a Philadelphia merchant who was later a great patron of Hampton, offered two hundred thousand dollars if the college would become a vocational school. An example of how the Booker T. Washington philosophy affected the thinking of Negroes as well as whites occurred at Payne College at Augusta, Georgia. Payne was started as a liberal arts college by white members of the Southern Methodist Church and Negro members of the African Methodist Church. When its board of trustees voted to make it vocational, the only dissenting member was the president, Dr. Walker, a white South Carolinian. At another meeting, which he called in protest, he broke down and wept. The Board changed the decision and Payne remains a liberal arts college to this day.

During this period, the racial pattern in the colleges was changing. They still had an all-Negro student body, but an increasing number of Negroes had joined white people on the faculties, in most cases under white presidents. The state colleges which were being started now were the only ones with no sprinkling of whites. Southerners wouldn't take such positions, and they certainly didn't want any more Northerners coming down to teach, whether they were schoolmarms or generals. Some states made it illegal for white people to teach in publicly supported institutions for Negroes. Florida maintained such a law until 1941.

After the lean years, various foundations began to give much-needed blood transfusions to the liberal arts colleges. The Phelps-Stokes Fund made a survey of the needs of the Negro institutions, which was of great service in allotting grants from various founda-

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tions. The Peabody and Carnegie Foundations and the vast work of the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation not only made contributions, but raised college morale and prestige by their interest. Gifts from the Foundations were usually made with the requirement that equal amounts be raised by the colleges themselves. Meanwhile, the improvement and addition of secondary schools by the Jeanes, Slater and Julius Rosenwald Funds were of immense help in providing better preparation for college entrance.

The rising costs of maintaining the enlarged and improved colleges were met in 1943 by the United Negro College Fund. Rather than compete for funds, a group of colleges is now banded together in an annual drive for operating costs. In 1949 thirty-one privately-supported colleges shared the million, one hundred fifty-seven thousand dollars raised by this nation-wide effort. Howard University, the largest of the Negro institutions, does not now share in this fund because, while operating under an elected board of trustees, it regularly receives appropriations from the Department of the Interior. Until 1938, there was yearly political maneuvering in Congress as to whether or not to make such an appropriation. Now, by a new charter this has become a legalized, routine matter.

What is the status of the more than sixty Negro colleges of liberal arts today? No attempt will be made here to evaluate the academic programs that are offered in the largely vocational state colleges. Since many students who could not afford to go to private colleges ardently desired such work, liberal arts courses have from time to time been adroitly slipped into the state institutions by more liberal elements without the direct knowledge of reactionary legislators, who rarely troubled to study the curricula. Often, officials of the educational set-up were content to remain officially ignorant of the extensive academic programs in their nominally vocational institutions. In one state college, Latin was introduced under the title of "Agricultural Latin." In another, the Negro president was able to include a liberal arts program with the tacit consent of the white head of the State Department of Education, who was actually his first cousin and fond of him in the unlegalized but well-known relationship between the races in the South.

Recent Supreme Court decisions that equal opportunity for pub-

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lic education must be offered to black and white alike have altered the picture, arousing Southern legislators to re-study the programs of their state colleges for Negroes. They now exaggerate, rather than minimize, the academic opportunities in the state institutions, to avoid admitting Negroes to the main state universities. So it is difficult at this time to get a true measure of the liberal arts curricula in state colleges for Negroes. North Carolina and West Virginia are the only states which openly maintain non-vocational colleges for them.

In the sixty-odd privately supported Negro colleges, the academic programs have improved steadily through the years—both in terms of standards and of equipment. There are educators who now compare some of these favorably with the best of the smaller colleges in New England and the Middle West. As in most of the early colleges in this country, the original purpose was to train for the ministry and for teaching. Normal courses have now been largely taken over by the state colleges, and theological training has been delegated to seminaries, such as Gammon, and graduate schools of theology, such as those at Howard and Atlanta Universities. The high school grades which the colleges long had to supply if students were to be properly prepared, have been dropped as the numbers of public high schools for Negroes have increased. In recent years many two-year colleges have become four-year colleges.

Accreditization from regional boards was given to Howard and Lincoln Universities in the early twenties. In 1928 the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools began to evaluate the Negro colleges, and has since accredited many of them, beginning with Fisk and Talladega in 1930. National recognition has followed. The Association of American Universities has accredited seven Negro colleges, beginning with Fisk in 1933 and now including Howard and Atlanta Universities, Morehouse, Spelman, Talladega, and North Carolina College at Durham.

Not only accreditization, but also the recognition of students' credits by other colleges, testifies to the present standing of the leading Negro institutions. Students can transfer to other leading colleges throughout the country without loss of credits. The sound training given by the leading Negro colleges is also proved by the

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numbers of their graduates who have earned doctorates at other universities. No Negro college yet offers work leading to the doctorate, although Atlanta, Fisk and Howard Universities all give Masters' degrees. Among over five hundred Negro men and women who now hold doctorates, there are many who received their lower degrees at Negro colleges.

Negro colleges are especially eminent in their departments of sociology, a subject which they recognized at the turn of the century, when such departments were rarely found in other colleges. Dr. Du Bois' sociological studies at Atlanta University received immediate recognition. Subsequently many Negro scholars have made significant contributions as sociologists, historians and analysts of race relations. Among these are Charles S. Johnson of Fisk, E. Franklin Frazier, Alain Locke, Rayford Logan and John Hope Franklin of Howard, James Weldon Johnson and Ira de A. Reid of Atlanta, Oliver C. Cox of Tuskegee.*

Another characteristic of the Negro colleges is the way in which their students acquire a sense of obligation to pursue group service. There is not a large leisure class among Negroes, nor great numbers in higher income brackets. A large proportion of students need scholarships, jobs or a financial sacrifice from parents. A sense of responsibility to the less privileged is developed both by their own circumstances and the traditions of these colleges. One evidence of the earnestness of the graduates is the work of the National Conference for Human Rights, an organization of over sixty thousand fraternity and sorority members from Negro colleges. This organization maintains a lobby in Washington for civil rights, education and public health.

The leading Negro colleges have climbed to their present status without large endowments and in spite of local resentment at their very existence. The endowments of the thirty-one colleges now in the United Negro College Fund make a total of thirty million dollars, of which half represents the endowments of Tuskegee and Hampton. Compare this figure with the one hundred and ninety millions of Harvard's endowment and that great university's present campaign to raise the amount to a quarter of a billion.

*Although their programs are still largely vocational, Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes now offer a program of liberal arts.

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The local resentment to Negro colleges is slowly lessening. It used to be that even interested white neighbors would treat Negro faculty members like superior servants. Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune recalls that the Women's Advisory Board of Bethune-Cookman College made formal objection some thirty years ago when President Bethune dared to wear a bracelet. The antagonism today seems to be not so much to the colleges *per se* as to their interracial aspects. Six years ago, when white people as well as Negroes came to live at Fisk University for a summer conference on race relations, there was intense resentment in Nashville. Yet the conference has continued successfully each summer since then. And the branch of the American Association of University Women at Augusta, Georgia, now has as its president a professor at Payne College.

The racial pattern in the Negro colleges has changed again in the past ten years. To have Negro presidents is no longer a marvel. Of the thirty-one colleges in the United Negro College Fund, all but six now have Negro presidents, as do many others of the sixty liberal arts colleges. Also, the type of white men and women on their faculties is changing. Instead of the dedicated missionaries who made their lifework there, many young white scholars are now getting their first teaching experience and their laboratory contacts with racial situations in Negro colleges. There are also a good number of white professors who, while still alert, have reached the retiring age at "white" colleges and are rounding out their work at Negro institutions. Both groups of recruits are needed today to replace the ever-growing number of well-qualified Negro professors who are now teaching in "white" colleges—about one hundred and eighty-three of them at present.

Trends today make it seem likely that the next change in the racial pattern will be to have mixed student bodies as well as faculties. Already there are some white undergraduates at Howard University, with a larger number in the graduate school, and up to one-third white in the School of Social Work. There are now exchanges of students for a year at a time between Talladega and Cornell College, Iowa, and between Hampton Institute and Antioch College, Ohio. The white students are registered in their own alma maters; therefore, their presence in Negro colleges is not technically against the laws

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for segregation in schools and colleges which still exist in seventeen states.

There are other forces at work, of course, that promise in time to break down this aspect of segregation. Recent Supreme Court decisions premitting Negro students in the graduate schools of state universities (even though at times behind a screen) tend to break down the principle of segregation. Polls of faculties and of students at white Southern colleges show a small majority of professors and a larger one of students in favor of admitting Negroes, at least to graduate schools. In short, in the foreseeable future, what originated as Negro colleges of liberal arts may begin taking their places in the confraternity of higher education simply as colleges of liberal arts.

Meanwhile, Negro colleges of liberal arts granted over eight thousand academic degrees in 1950. What opportunities await these graduates and the many others from the so-called white colleges? Actually none of the five hundred holders of the doctorate has ever exchanged his mortarboard for a red cap, his scholar's robe for a waiter's uniform. During the depression, holders of lesser degrees, both white and Negro, frequently worked at jobs inferior to their abilities. Negro graduates rarely are brought to that pass now, although many students hold unskilled positions at part-time work or during vacations. The percentage of college graduates unable to secure appropriate jobs is smaller among Negroes than whites, but this advantage is misleading, since teaching positions, if only in small rural schools, are open to Negroes without training beyond a bachelor's degree. On the other hand, since the war, fair employment practice laws in ten states have opened many new opportunities.

The gains are perceptible, and viewed in the perspective of the past, encouraging. Yet, needless to say, the fight is a hard one, and the chances today for an average Negro graduate pitifully inadequate when compared with those for the white of similar ability. One can, in the face of accumulated gains, feel some optimism. But in the face of still operating bigotry, false, sinister "supremacy" creeds and ignorance and stupid hate, to say nothing of the cumulative effects of past discrimination and injustice, one must not, because of that optimism, lessen the effort to close more and more the gap between our democratic professions and practices.

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Literary Scholars in Business Suits

Richard Altick

A LITERARY scholar is a man who writes books and articles which nobody reads about authors whom nobody reads. Such, I am afraid, is his status in the popular mind nowadays. Only once in a long while, as when he dramatically discovers a great cache of Boswell manuscripts or (the age of miracles being not wholly past) wins a Pulitzer prize, is the literary scholar's name found in the newspapers; and when he publishes a book, he is lucky if it rates even a few lines in the widely-read weeklies. Although, being stubbornly disinclined to publicize himself, he invites this neglect, he does not quite deserve it.

Obviously there is no such person as a "typical" literary scholar, and there never has been. But it is remarkable that the greatest scholars two generations ago were, seemingly without exception, "characters": some in the mold of Sylvestre Bonnard, some a deal saltier. The pioneer medieval scholar and simplified spelling enthusiast, F. J. Furnivall, was famous for (among many other things) his sculling on the Thames while his long white whiskers streamed out behind him. The most famous of American scholars, George Lyman Kittredge, who was reputed to dip his beard in laundry bluing, strode across Harvard Square against the lights in defiance of trucks and streetcars ("Look out there, Santy Claus," cried the drivers and motormen). He had a marvelous knack of timing his

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This article is an adaptation of the introduction to Mr. Altick's forthcoming book, *The Scholar Adventurers*, being published in October by the Macmillan Company.

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lecture and making his exit from the classroom so that his last word and his students' last glimpse of him chimed with the bell; he held midnight conferences over cigars at his home—conferences which are fondly remembered by hundreds of his onetime graduate students; and he had habits of leisure reading that resulted in the Harvard Library's acquiring over the years one of the world's finest collections of detective fiction. Among others, an Anglo-Saxon specialist almost killed the graduate study of English in one of our great universities because he insisted on teaching all the courses himself, and another great American medievalist lost his hat at a meeting of the Modern Language Association many years ago, when he was rosily under the influence, and thereby started a famous legend—

But the great "characters" belong now to history, and to the affections or at least the esteem of the men and women, now themselves in middle age, who sat at their feet. In their place has come a generation of comparatively conventional, unspectacular men in business suits, many of whom no doubt have their individual eccentricities but who, in the mass, look like a squadron of insurance salesmen. But even if they do not conform, externally at least, to the popular image of the unworldly academician, few of them, I suspect, are really at home with a group of prosperous business men. As John Livingston Lowes of Harvard, a prince among scholarly detectives, once observed, the college professor, riding in a crowded Pullman smoking-room at midnight, tries his best to be unacademic, but the damned spot will not out.

It is my impression that in politics most scholars whose lives were at some point affected by the Great Depression—and that includes everyone who was struggling to make ends meet while in graduate school, or while holding his first job in a desperately impoverished college—are liberals of some sort, ranging from militant activity in the appropriate movements to a quiet attachment, sentimental or philosophical, to the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Despite the wholly libelous legend that professional scholars take pride in having read nothing published since 1900, most of them, including some of the oldest, are deeply interested in contemporary literary trends, and can discuss Faulkner, Sartre, Kafka, Cyril Connolly,

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Ezra Pound, and all the splinter groups of poets and critics, with intelligence and heat of one sort or another. Most of them read the *New Yorker* and not a few are Li'l Abner fans. Many of them collect records which they play, if they can afford to do so, on a custom-built phonograph with all the latest refinements of sound engineering. Their musical tastes are fairly sophisticated; I have a feeling that, if a poll were taken, the most favored of all composers would be Mozart, but Bach, Haydn, Beethoven and Brahms are also strongly represented on the record shelves, and in many collections such moderns as Hindemith, Schönberg, Bartók and Shostakovich find hospitality. Although a Johns Hopkins scholar, in an apologia for his colleagues written in 1938, maintained that most members of the profession have "a possessive attitude toward at least one Hollywood star," the times have changed, and today the profession as a whole seems to reserve its enthusiasm for such classics as *The Informer* and the vintage pleasantries of the Marx Brothers, and for the excellent foreign movies which have been increasingly popular in America since the war. It need hardly be added that a picture like Olivier's *Hamlet* is good for an hour's controversy any time two or more scholars get together.

A few scholars, like Wilmarth S. Lewis, the twentieth-century apostle of Horace Walpole, have comfortable private incomes, and the advantages inherent in their personal lives carry over into their scholarly pursuits. They may wear English tweeds, go abroad in state every summer, and mingle socially with rich book-collecters. Like Chauncey Brewster Tinker of Yale, they may build up their own personal collections of rare books and manuscripts, which they house in suitable comfort in a city apartment or a place in the country.

Many scholars are not professional teachers. A great deal of valuable research, especially in the field of bibliography, has been accomplished by men and women attached to great libraries. Ever since the day of Sir Frederic Madden, a hundred years ago, the British Museum has had on its staff learned bookmen who have combined independent research with their official duties, to the great enrichment of scholarly knowledge. One of the best contemporary authorities on the older English printed books is William A.

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Jackson, of the Houghton Library at Harvard. Curt Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York is one of the top experts in the field of medieval manuscripts. Giles Dawson and E. E. Willoughby, Elizabethan bibliographical specialists, are on the staff of the Folger Library. Such men enjoy the advantage of having the remarkable resources of their respective libraries almost within arm's reach, and in addition their daily business enables them constantly to profit from the knowledge of the specialists who work for the great rare-book dealers. Carter and Pollard, who exposed the monumental bibliographical fraud of Thomas J. Wise, were neither academic persons nor members of library staffs, but employees of rare-book firms.

Some distinguished scholars have done much of their work in what leisure they could find after completing their daily tasks in other professions. Two of the leading English experts on Elizabethan literature, Sir Edmund Chambers and John Dover Wilson, were for many years officials of the national Board of Education. Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, a specialist in Elizabethan bibliography, was a Hungarian-born New Yorker who held an M.D. from the Columbia University medical school and had a busy practice in psychotherapy. Occasionally an important contribution to scholarly knowledge is made by a stranger to all the learned professions. Twenty years ago a New England textile manufacturer named Walter Oliver wandered into the office of the Modern Language Association to announce that he held the key to a riddle which had long baffled students of the medieval romance—the geography involved in the story of *King Horn*. Once he had identified the "Suddene" of the romance with Southdean, on the Borders of Scotland, where he had spent his boyhood, most of the other geographical details fell into place.

Nevertheless, most scholars earn their living in the classroom or the administrative offices of a university, even if they got there, so to speak, by the back door. A few dedicated spirits entered literary research only after having practiced and abandoned a career in some other field. John Livingston Lowes first was a professor of mathematics at Washington and Jefferson College. Carleton Brown of New York University was a railroader and a Unitarian minister

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before he began his great work as a specialist in the medieval lyric. A leading present-day Johnson expert holds a degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. And a surprising number of our American scholars, if confronted with the record, would have to confess that they misspent their undergraduate years majoring in such subjects as business administration.

The sacrifices involved in deserting a prospective career as stockbroker or advertising executive for the life of scholarship are the more impressive when we consider what scholars were being paid in the late 1940's, when academic salaries in the United States were the highest in history. An instructor, the occupant of the lowest rung on the ladder, whose professional training had been as long and as expensive as that of a surgeon, might receive up to $3,500 for a nine-month year. A man who had reached the dizzy eminence of a full professorship might receive $6,000 or even as much as $10,000. (Salaries were higher at a few institutions, such as Harvard, but to anyone not at Harvard the fact was only a curiosity to be noted wistfully in passing.) Such an income is not conducive to high living. It means limiting oneself to a Ford or a Plymouth, buying the bulk of one's groceries at the A and P, serving an inexpensive brand of whiskey at all parties except the ones celebrating a promotion or the publication of a book, and practicing all sorts of petty economies.

Among scholars there is a pleasant camaraderie which links a man at Columbia with one at the University of California and another at Oxford, in the same way in which, say, surgeons have almost a world-wide fraternity. Some friendships begin in graduate school, when the necessity of posing temporarily as a lover of the Anglo-Saxon tongue and of brazening through the gruelling three-day qualifying examination for the Ph.D. makes all men brothers over the 2 A.M. coffee. They are augmented when the young scholar is striking out for the first time on his own, with a summer of research at the Harvard Library or the British Museum in London, and he meets other aspiring scholars in the reading-rooms or at the inexpensive restaurants which he patronizes. And they grow still more a little later, when, having published two or three articles, he becomes known as a budding specialist in the metaphysical poets or the Pre-Raphaelites or Jonathan Edwards—and workers in the

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same and adjoining vineyards begin to exchange information and discuss their problems with him.

The spirit of cooperation that exists in modern literary scholarship is unsurpassed, perhaps, in any of the other learned professions. That is not to say that relations among scholars are always compounded of sweetness and light. There are specialists who like to claim exclusive dominion over their particular area of research, and who go to unseemly lengths to try to keep out poachers. Some, having found valuable new documents, persuade the owners to forbid anyone else to use them. Often this exaggerated sense of possessiveness has its comic side. Forty years ago two indefatigable Shakespeare scholars, Professor Charles Wallace of the University of Nebraska and Mrs. Charlotte Stopes of Scotland, found themselves, to their common irritation, working side by side in the Public Record Office in London. Each knew that the other had the same design—to find hitherto undiscovered documents relating to Shakespeare. It is said that Mrs. Stopes was so much on Wallace's mind that even when walking along the street with a companion, he would lower his voice and glance over his shoulder, fearful that she was trailing him in the hope of overhearing some valuable clue to the progress of his research. When he discovered a document, he would try (unsuccessfully) to have the Record Office authorities hide it away so that Mrs. Stopes would not know about it.

Once in a while, at the annual meeting of American literary scholars, two arch-rivals may be seen avoiding each other with desperate zeal. But the pervading atmosphere of these gatherings is decidedly fraternal. The Modern Language Association—"MLA" as it is always called by its members—is the professional organization for teachers and scholars in all the modern languages and literatures which are taught in American higher institutions. It is the counterpart, in the field of literary and linguistic studies, of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which regularly steals the headlines from the MLA if their conventions happen to be held at the same time.

Every year for three days the MLA holds a meeting, usually between Christmas and New Year's, and usually in a hotel in one or another of the large Eastern or Midwestern cities. The lobbies and

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corridors are jammed by a polyglot mob, numbering as many as three thousand. In addition to scholars in English and American literature, the crowd includes bearded professors of French or Slavonic, smoking cigarettes down to the last half-inch; lonely graduate students who are there because they have already been told it is The Thing To Do, and who gaze with awe—mingled with distaste—at the celebrities of scholarship whose books they have been required to read; and beaten-down middle-aged men and women hoping against hope to persuade somebody to rescue them from a living death (at $3,000 a year) at Dismal Seepage State Normal College.

The official reason for the MLA annual conclave is an elaborate system of small meetings in which some fifty groups of specialists in the various fields of research gather while three or four of their number read papers. To "read a paper at MLA," thereby getting one's name in the printed record, is one of the prescribed ways of advancing in the profession. It is generally agreed that nine-tenths of the papers read at these group meetings should have remained unread, if not actually unwritten; but since no one is obliged to listen to the papers and everybody in the room except the reader is spending his time looking for familiar faces or trying to catch the attention of his fellow Dryden expert from Michigan, no real harm is done. The formal purposes of the MLA convention, indeed, are held in humorous scorn by a substantial proportion of the membership. In reality most seasoned MLA-ers travel long distances each Christmas season for the sake of renewing old friendships, trading scholarly and academic gossip, and checking up on the progress of their friends' research.

These vital functions are accomplished partly at bars in the hotel and the surrounding neighborhood, and in the hotel suites rented by textbook publishers, whose representatives play the genial host while inwardly worrying about what the office administration will say when they turn in the liquor bill. But the most uninhibited and most valuable gatherings at MLA are those in the hotel rooms of the members themselves. At 2 A.M., three ice pails and an empty soda bottle or two outside a door mark a smoke-choked room where a medieval scholar is playing host to a Whitman specialist, a Shakespearean, and a Miltonist (all sprawled on the single bed), a Meredi-

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thian (in the armchair), a Henry James specialist (in the other chair), a worker in eighteenth-century periodicals and a student of Franco-American literary relations (on the floor). In the morning it will be hard to get up in time for the nine o'clock section meetings, at which two or three of them are scheduled to read papers, but these bedroom convivialities have their place in the scholarly plan of things. In the course of their conversation, the Miltonist may accidentally suggest to the Whitman specialist some exciting ideas about the origins of Walt's metrical habits, and the Meredithian, listening to the worker in eighteenth-century periodicals discussing his present research, may suddenly remember that in his college library in the Midwest is a file of the obscure magazine for which his acquaintance has long been looking.

The *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, a thick quarterly periodical dressed in a bright blue cover, is, at least when measured by both bulk and total circulation, the leading American publication in the field of literary research. Besides *PMLA*, as it is always called (the scholarly profession was far in advance of the New Deal in adopting time- and space-saving abbreviations), there are in America a handful of other quarterly and monthly publications, all circulating fewer than a thousand copies, in which the scholar publishes the results of his research with no other reward than a sheaf of offprints to hand round to his colleagues and to people who may some day offer him a better academic post. Known to the learned by their initials rather than by their formal titles—*MLN*, *ELH*, *PQ*, *SP*, *JEGP*, and so forth—these periodicals struggle along from year to year on the subsidies granted them by the universities where they are edited. The British have two comparable journals, the *Review of English Studies* at Oxford and the *Modern Language Review* at the University of London. In addition to these periodicals of general scholarly interest, there is also a number devoted to special slices of literature, ranging from *Speculum* (medieval studies) to the *Journal of Nineteenth Century Fiction.*

Last spring the Modern Language Association had over six thousand paid-up members. A considerable number of these are teachers and researchers in foreign languages and literatures, and of the remainder many are not practicing scholars. That still leaves at least

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two or three thousand men and women in America who believe that the pursuit of new knowledge in the field of English and American literature is not only an agreeable way of spending their lives, but has a genuine social value. They know that after a considerable interval the more significant of their discoveries will find their way into the biographies and critical studies which are read by the general public. In such a way, they feel, they are making their contribution to the defense of humanistic culture. At a time when literature is counting for less and less in our scale of values, they insist that the best way to vindicate it is to learn more and more about it.

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Ballata (Delicato)

Anna Elizabeth Bennett

Across the edge of morning,
within the rim of night,
buds of rain are breaking
from stems and sprays of light.
My lute and I are making
a pastoral of rain,
dolce, pizzicato,
counterpoint of pain.
We give the rain a meaning
more silken than a dove,
but not its secret meaning
that you and I know, love.

Before the sky has blossomed,
with morning at the neap,
bells of rain are shaking
measures soft as sleep.
My lute and I are slaking
the pain no wise one tells—
rather spin the morning
to webs of brittle bells—
we give the heart a meaning
more opal than a dove . . .
but not its secret meaning
that only we know, love . . . .

✪ ANNA ELIZABETH BENNETT's poems have appeared in *Poetry*, *Voices*, the *Lyric* and other magazines. Miss Bennett is a librarian in the Brooklyn Public Library.

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American Scholar Forum . . .

THE DEMOCRATIC LIMITS OF THE WELFARE STATE

The Limits of Intervention

Louis M. Hacker

THE CURRENT DEBATE ON THE LIMITS OF INtervention (Is the welfare state inevitable? Can we stop short of socialism?) is taking place in a fog through which light shines only occasionally. In consequence, voices seem disembodied and values unreal as historical experience and political and economic truths are sacrificed to the demands of urgency. It has been said, for example, by a recent writer, that our modern world is unique because of "the decline of competition, the recurrence of periods of depression and the persistence of demands for basic economic reforms,"[1] and that first call upon economic and political statesmanship is the resolution of our "pressing immediacies"—to wit, stability, security and full employment. National planning stands high on any agenda.[2]

Why urgency? These analyses, or reproaches, are almost as old as historical man himself. The Gracchi talked in the same vein; so did the rebels and popular leaders of the early fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The complaints against monopoly and depression fill the pages of our first economic literature; the demands for "basic economic reform"—to mention only the best known of the viewers-with-alarm—go back as far as Harrington in the seventeenth century, and their number is legion in the nineteenth (Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier, Proudhon, Cabet, Marx, Morris, Bellamy).

Another question: Dare a democracy ever yield to a sense of urgency? If we believe in unlimited debate, the examination of choices, and the peaceful persuasion and full support of a majority of the electorate—as well as the conversion of the majority by a

[1] K. William Kapp, "Economic Planning and Freedom" in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Band 64, Heft 1 (Hamburg, 1950).

[2] J. B. Condliffe, *The Commerce of Nations* (New York, 1950).

LOUIS M. HACKER, professor of economics and director of the School of General Studies at Columbia University, was last year the Harmsworth professor of American history at Oxford.

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minority—can we at any time say that emergency measures are in order? A fair charge against Lincoln was that he suspended habeas corpus and imposed martial law in Northern districts that were not even threatened by invasion. Even when Britain was so threatened, after the fall of France, its government never abridged the constitutional guarantees of the British people.

These questions, however, are not my immediate interest here. I am addressing myself to that of intervention: Are there limits to it? In fact, how far can public authority legitimately go before it changes our world entirely from the one we have to another with completely different codes of behavior, morality and welfare?

There are two popular fallacies to be disposed of at the outset. The first runs somewhat as follows: During the nineteenth century, under the banner of liberalism, statesmanship concerned itself largely with political questions (the franchise, representative government, the constitutional position of the monarchy and the judiciary, popular education, minority rights); today, it is forced to concern itself with economic questions (exchange control, price supports, subsidies, full employment). And the second fallacy is: During the nineteenth century, the art of political economy had as its leading preoccupation the creation of wealth; today, it must devote iself to other canons. "Among these criteria," says Professor Condliffe, "stability and security rank high." Thus, we move from liberalism to interventionism, from freedom to necessity.

The middle-of-the-roaders, the faint of heart, Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s "vital centrists," hope we can stop in midcareer and that "the welfare state" will be a working compromise between no-intervention and full-intervention. But the fox has been flushed, the hounds are in full cry, and away we go over hill and dale, not meaning to pull up until we are in at the kill. "Kill" is the wrong word, of course, except to the cynical. The happy huntsmen are convinced we can plan for stability and security, and at the same time maintain full consumer choices, a free market, and the right to invest—which means to take risks. *Our* welfare state will not be dominated by the police....

The British Labor government has formally declared that its grand plan encompasses only these three ideas: direction over investment, location of industry, and foreign exchange. It does not mean to nationalize entirely, and never without compensation. No policeman here—certainly as far as the Englishman's fundamental rights are concerned. But let us see.[3]

You want to start a newspaper and you begin making your rounds of the very many public offices involved. You learn, in time, that your investment plans, for share capital to erect buildings and furnish equipment, cannot have top priority ("More important to build houses for workers"); that paper shortages forbid the launching of new publishing ventures ("Purchases from the dollar area must be rigorously controlled by import licenses"); that all trained workers already have jobs and trade-union contracts ("A planned economy is based on high employment"). Socialism has a job to be done; first things come first, and dissent—which has always been a luxury—must wait its turn. There is no open attack on liberty. It is only that the sustenance it requires for survival simply becomes more difficult, if impossible, to obtain.

As for the popular fallacies, they fly in the face of historical fact and economic truth. English political leaders, during the nineteenth century, were constantly preoccupied with economic as well as political problems: income tax laws, the reestablishment and support of the gold standard, central banking, the rights of and restrictions on joint-stock companies, railroad regulation, land reform, factory and child-labor legislation. American political leaders were occupied, among other things, with the building of highways, the chartering and

[3]Mr. Harold Wilson, President of the British Board of Trade, reported in The London *Times*, Jan. 20, 1950: "Basic controls, such as those of the location of industry, foreign exchange and the volume of investment, will be maintained as permanent instruments to ensure the maintenance of our economic position and the fulfillment of our full employment programme."

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control of railroads, the question of cheap or dear money, national banking, the maintenance of competition. The legislative annals of France and Germany are filled with similar examples.

And as regards the brave challenge: "The art of political economy . . . must take account of criteria other than wealth"—this has been the stand of every Utopian from Plato up to and beyond William Morris. Without wealth—achieved not through privilege but by starting risky ventures—how can men launch new and cheaper ways of making goods and creating services? And unless we do so, will the cruel poverty which plagues so large a part of the population of the earth's surface, causing disease, starvation and early death, ever be abolished? Only a fool will deny that great deficits everywhere exist in the areas of health, education, child care—all the social services. The point is a simple one: Unless we continue to expand and create new engines of production—tearing down obsolescent plants, erecting more efficient factories and mills, building hydroelectric irrigation and flood-control projects, laying out more systems of communication—and make it possible, in consequence, to turn out more and cheaper hard and soft goods, we cannot pay for social security. The fascinating and frightening lesson of Britain's National Health Act is that its people need health services, but that the British economy will go bankrupt if its socialist leaders continue trying to pay for the health program at the expense of plant modernization. At this point in our development we simply cannot afford socialism—at any rate, Christian socialism, which is a morality and not a method for organizing production.

II

All this being so, how far may we expect the state to go? It has traditional roles which all of us in a democratic society are accustomed to see performed. It provides for the national defense; it maintains and upholds an incorruptible judiciary guided by the Rule of Law; it encourages and safeguards freedom of religion, communication and association; it gives minority groups protection and permits them to be heard; it employs the police power to defend and improve the life, health and morals of its people. The state can and should go further; and, having said this, one should also be prepared to say: There are other functions which are the proper concerns, but also the limits, of state intervention. I record them here, not necessarily in the order of their importance.

1. The protection of private property is an important function of the state. If we are committed to the encouragement of innovation in order to increase production; if we are ready to agree that capital formation in a poor world is still a crying need; if we concede that the maintenance of unequal wage and salary scales is one of the ways through which savings can occur; if, from historical experience, we are prepared to recognize that unless risks can be taken—and fortunes made by the successful—the idea of economic progress must be abandoned, then private property and private business decisions must be assured. In a free society, the existence of free consumer choices always will keep resources scarce. Unless we build our foundations on the vision of an ideal Spartan world—Plato's and More's and Marx's Utopias—there will always continue to be a relative dearth of goods. It is idle to talk of the abolition of wages as an ultimate goal, for the surfeit of plenty of which all well-intentioned romanticists have dreamed (Marx was the worst of the lot!) can never be realized.

The existence of unequal wages is one of the great social incentives: in fact, unequal wage scales are further developed in the Soviet Union than in most capitalist countries. Unequal wage and salary scales—leading to private fortunes—are a great spur to innovation. Short of a war period (the caterpillar tractor, the jet plane, atomic energy), it still is to be demonstrated that a planned and regulated economy is a more favorable climate for innovation than capitalism. The very nature of socialism—the timidity of functionaries, the vested interests of labor unions and cooperatives, the curious cost-accounting procedures—stifles innnovation. Capitalism is not on trial here; its achieve-

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ments, as far as production is concerned, have been magnificent. If the state means to concern itself with social welfare, it must permit adventurers to invest, take risks, and save for further investments from their successful ventures.

2. All this does not mean that privilege is to be tolerated. Tariffs that have outlived their usefulness (encouraging infant industries) must be abolished; monopolies and unfair trade practices are to be fought; patents are proper, but they should not be privately suppressed; excessive fortunes and idle funds should be regarded with suspicion. Every political thinker worthy of the name, from Aristotle to John Stuart Mill, was aware of the fact that no society could endure for long, or ward off social discontent, unless it constantly preoccupied itself with the question of the redistribution of wealth and income. There was always a wealthy group in the top layer and a poor one in the bottom. In between was to remain that broad sector of the middle class which had the fluidity and opportunity to reach above or —if unsuccessful—to fall below.

Redistribution, through taxation, keeps opportunity alive and makes possible the regular emergence of new adventurers or innovators. So does the maintenance of the luxury industries, although in a minor way. Mandeville, in part, was right: the luxury industries are useful—not, of course, because they give employment, but because they help the profligate and stupid to speed the processes of redistribution. (J. M. Keynes was either cynical or entirely despairing when he applauded Mandeville.) Taxation, of course, is a two-edged sword: it always threatens the life of incentive.

3. Given the possession of that awful weapon, fiscal power, the state has a great responsiblity: the protection of society's credit structure is in its hands. The state cannot be heedless in the management of its own finances. So completely—for good or ill—does it dominate central banking today that any recklessness on its part must have a blighting effect on enterprise at once. A sound monetary and credit system and a manageable public debt are the first concerns of virtuous lawmakers; otherwise, economic chaos inevitably follows. The history books are filled with too many familiar examples to require their recital here.

This warning, particularly, must be taken to heart by new or underdeveloped nations. The formula of inflation (or repudiation) and price and exchange controls seems such a simple and magical one; but only one's own people— and not for long—can be bemused by it. Certainly the stranger—the foreign investor and trader—will smell danger at once. That great and wise young man, Alexander Hamilton, America's first secretary of the Treasury, knew how vital it was that the young republic's public and private credit be built on an indestructible foundation. He paid off the revolutionary foreign and domestic debts; the prewar commercial claims of English merchants were to be honored; the new public debt was to be secured by a sinking fund; a central bank was established to regulate the currency; and long-term foreign funds and short-term financing flowed into the United States, to make its formative years secure.[4]

It would be idle to maintain that lawmakers must ever close their minds to the occasional necessity for unbalanced budgets. The experiences of the 1930's and the teachings of Keynes and his disciples are valuable here: deficit financing in bad years, surpluses in good ones. But what shall we say of a government which, during the greatest peacetime period of prosperity in its history, complacently draws up a budget calling for a deficit of five billions of dollars?

I am arguing for fiscal integrity; but I am not saying that state fiscal intervention should never take place. In a young or growing economy, there are many areas where private capital cannot enter because it is not powerful enough. Indeed, in the underdeveloped countries—in the new nations of India and Israel, for example, and in Latin America—public investment will undoubtedly occur. Private investment, with foreign funds, however, is more efficient,

[4]See my own *England & America: The Ties that Bind. An Inaugural Lecture* (Oxford, 1948) for a fuller exposition of this point.

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and because it is willing to take risks is less likely to be badgered by the cautious or the foolish. An illuminating contrast is that between the building of the railroads by foreign private capital in the United States after the Civil War, on the one hand, and, on the other, the current efforts of the British Labor government to push its great groundnuts project in Africa. In both cases, financial failure initially took place. In the United States, the railroads were built despite the losses suffered by British, German and Swiss investors; in Britain, the plans for the development of Africa have come under such sharp criticism that the government has been forced to narrow and limit its outlays.[5]

4. Up to this point, I have mentioned the economic responsibilities of the state; there remains to be discussed an important social one. All cultures have had dependent or unemployable persons. Their care becomes a public duty in a world such as ours which advances in medical knowledge and develops a more refined social conscience, prolongs the age of child dependency, increases life expectation and therefore the numbers of the old, and has large numbers of the chronically and permanently ill. A distinction should be drawn between the sick and those chronically and permanently ill; between the unemployed and the unemployables. Invalidity, dependent mothers and children, and the aged (where there do not exist adequate pension programs) are a public concern and should be budgeted for.

On the other hand, the sick can be taken care of more efficiently and at less cost by private-insurance and group-medicine devices. And the unemployed can be protected by pension funds and schemes. There is a large area of joint enterprise, participated in by industry and labor, which we are beginning to explore in the United States. This, it seems to me, is a more fruitful experimentation than state programs. The welfare funds currently being set up in many of our industries place administration and responsibility where they belong; and they have the great virtue of preserving the independence of the unions.

If we mean what we say about our liberties, then pluralistic loyalties need encouraging: devolution of power, and not its concentration, is the key to proper political thinking. The welfare state (or socialism) produces the reverse, and sooner or later, because it has fiscal authority over all the social services, as well as over credit, production and exchange, it must weaken the independence of associations (trade unions, trade associations) and convert them into pale satellites without lives of their own.

5. Finally, I wish to mention what may be called the psychological duty of the state: the preservation of opportunity. There will not be an active and contented citizenry unless opportunity flourishes, unless people can climb up and down the ladder of economic success and social recognition. The founder of the Medicis began as a wool comber; the first Astor was a butcher boy; the first Vanderbilt, a ferryman. Innovators must have the chance to start, and their talents demand social acceptance. In our world of great institutional organization—the guidance of public offices, corporations, trade unions—the surest way to maintain opportunity is through the creation and defense of full educational facilities.

The state must educate, therefore, because education is expensive and should be universal. Plato's Academy, the Stoics, Peter Abelard, could meet their pupils over a covered walk or in a room, the gathering together of teachers and scholars for discourse constituted early education. But when education requires libraries, laboratories and elaborate equipment; when education begins with infancy and does not end until death; when it tries to reach whole populations to train for the effective citizenship of all rather than the leadership of the few —then we cannot escape public outlays.

Outlays are one thing; supervision is

[5]Because I favor foreign investments, I know I will be charged with "imperialism." Two of the greatest troublemakers of modern times have been Hobson and Lenin, who popularized, and cast obloquy on, this concept. See my *England & America,* heretofore referred to.

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another. This is not the place to examine closely the complicated question of educational policy. The elimination of privately-administered educational institutions would be a tragedy, if we really mean what we say about wanting to uphold a democratic society and to produce free men. Authority does not start in the schools; it begins in the family, probably. But certainly the perversion of young minds can be effectively completed, and their thought forever controlled, by those who dominate education.

The state undoubtedly will have to subsidize higher education (scholarships would be the best way), but educational administration should be in the hands of local agencies (where the schools are public) and in the hands of faculties (where the schools are private). If the schools can be kept independent, the Big Policeman will be kept cut down to size.

The preservation of liberty is no longer an abstract question. Political theorists, up to now, have always assumed that threats to it came from irresponsible authority. But liberty can be put in jeopardy equally by a state which starts out with benevolent intentions. Socialism's aim is not power but welfare; yet in striving to achieve welfare it threatens innovation, sacrifices fiscal integrity, and dries up opportunity. The state has positive functions; but, if we are interested in economic progress and the maintenance of liberty, there should be specific limits on intervention. To define functions is also to limit them.

Empirical Problems and Particular Goals

Charles E. Lindblom

MR. HACKER ASKS: "IS THE WELFARE STATE inevitable? Can we stop short of socialism?" But these factual questions he chooses not to answer. Instead he defines the *proper* limits of government intervention, and we can only guess whether the inevitable is improper.

For present purposes, I am inclined to believe that he has asked the wrong questions, but answered the right ones (though wrongly). Leaving prediction aside, I shall comment on his proposals for proper policy.

To ask how far government should go is something like asking how fast an automobile should be driven. I think Mr. Hacker is, in effect, saying that he cannot agree that fifty miles per hour is a proper maximum, even if it was once so considered. But he cannot, on the other hand, approve speeds of much over seventy miles per hour because he knows the hazards of high velocity.

As ordinarily asked and answered, such questions come close to being nonsense. Ninety miles per hour is no further from an optimum than forty or sixty. It all depends on traffic, weather, the effectiveness of brakes, the vision and reaction time of the driver, the technical characteristics of the automobile, and a number of other variables which not only can be changed, but are, in fact, always changing.

Similarly, the proper limits on govern-

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ment in economic life depend on a number of changeable and ever-changing conditions about which Mr. Hacker says almost nothing. Limits on intervention should depend on at least the following variables:

1. *The community's objectives or values.* These objectives change frequently, and the functions of government ought to change with them.

2. *The specific kinds of problems with which the community must deal.* It is incredible that the common prescriptions for the limits of government intervention have not been rewritten since Hiroshima. While national security has dictated a government monopoly of a potential major source of industrial energy, we idiotically turn out the same old slogans.

3. *The degree to which power in government can be held responsible.* This, in turn, depends upon such factors as the degree of consensus in the community, the level of party responsibility, and the extent of citizen participation in politics. Again, these are not only varying but variable.

4. *The effectiveness of alternative non-governmental techniques for reaching individual and community objectives.* Would it have been sensible, for example, to debate the ambitious extension of government power involved in the establishment of the Federal Reserve System without first diagnosing the performance of private banking as of 1913?

If we first become reasonably clear about our values and objectives, the determination of the proper limits on government power then becomes a technical problem, largely empirical rather than moral—approached in the same way that we determine optimum driving speeds by examining, among other things, night blindness among drivers.

The converse of this proposition is that the limits of intervention cannot successfully be discussed with terms which reduce complicated empirical questions to relatively simple problems of morality. I am afraid this is where Mr. Hacker and I no longer even speak the same language.

Here is a sample of Mr. Hacker's prescriptions: "A sound monetary and credit system and a manageable public debt are the first concerns of virtuous lawmakers; otherwise, economic chaos inevitably follows. . . . " Lawmakers are virtuous if they manage the public debt and develop a sound monetary system, and a sound monetary system can be defined as one which avoids economic chaos. But the words give us no clue as to what lawmakers should do, or as to what kind of a monetary system is desirable. We are, of course, in favor of sound credit and virtue.

Perhaps I am objecting not only to tackling tough empirical problems with morality, but also to evading concreteness with platitudes commending virtue and soundness. For example, Mr. Hacker believes that privilege should not be tolerated. (And I would go on to suggest that mothers be treated with respect, and that honesty is the best policy.) What does the word "privilege" mean? He offers examples. Tariffs that have outlived their usefulness must be abolished. But the case for and against tariffs is actually quite complicated. An elementary question which goes unrecognized and therefore unanswered is: Which tariffs have outlived their usefulness and which have not (aside from the unimportant case of infant-industry tariffs which Mr. Hacker mentions)? Mr. Hacker also explains that unfair trade practices are to be fought. Which trade practices are unfair—those which are commonly called unfair because they are vigorously competitive? And how are they or others to be "fought"? It is of the very greatest consequence for intervention that we decide whether to correct (not fight) trade practices by creating more genuinely competitive conditions or by regulating an industry on non-competitive lines. Mr. Hacker is against monopoly, too. But economists are not agreed on what parts of our economy are monopolized, except for the agreement that all segments of the economy are to a degree. Nor are they inclined to regard monopoly as an unmitigated evil. Mr. Hacker has simply declared that bad words like monopoly, privilege, unfair practices and tariffs are bad words.

I am not saying simply that Mr. Hacker

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provides too little detail. The detail is there; what is lacking is a set of concepts which gets the discussion up from a level of primitive simplicity and morality.

Finally, it is high time we stopped talking about socialism. Mr. Hacker is against socialism, but this assurance gives me very little idea of what he is actually against. If socialism means increased government intervention in economic life, he is not opposed. If it means more equality—social and economic—he is not opposed. If it means democratization of industrial life, I infer that he is not opposed to that either. If his objection to socialism simply reflects his belief that too much is too much, we can dispense with the term and get down to the job of defining "too much."

On the other hand, if Mr. Hacker's repeated objections to socialism record his opposition to nationalization of industry, I suggest that he is beating a dead horse. We in the United States have long ago agreed that nationalization was a suitable specific organizational technique in certain limited circumstances. Among democratic socialists here and abroad, this is about all that is today being claimed for nationalization. What specific industries are well suited to nationalization is a technical question on which sweeping generalizations are worthless.

I would therefore conclude that social policies should be designed neither to "save" capitalism from socialism, nor to substitute socialism for capitalism. We live in an economy as much socialist as capitalist—and I can say this easily because neither of the terms means anything in particular. Policy should now be directed to choosing and developing the best of specific alternative social techniques, public and private, to achieve particular social goals. My guess is that policy so designed would be less timid than Mr. Hacker's.

State Capitalism and Business Capitalism

Max Lerner

I FIND PROFESSOR HACKER LESS PERSUASIVE IN his introductory remarks than he is when he tackles the main matter at hand. He asks, to start with, "why the urgency" about economic reform, and points out that the reformist analyses and reproaches "are almost as old as historical man himself." It is a little as if a writer on medicine were to ask "why the urgency" in the efforts to improve medical science, and were to point out that the diagnoses of disease and the calls for cure "are almost as old as historical man himself."

More than a decade ago I wrote a book called *It Is Later Than You Think*. I would not in today's crisis diminish in the slightest degree the sense of urgency implied in that title. I am certain that Professor Hacker will not deny the reality of the contemporary struggle between an all-out totalitarianism, which aims to put the whole economy, and with it the whole human mind and personality, under rigid public direction, and, on the other hand, the effort to find a way of organizing the economy effectively without destroying freedom. The problem is at once economic, political and moral. When Professor Hacker says with disdain that "socialism—at any rate, Christian socialism . . . is a morality and not a method for organizing production," he does it less than justice by denying its economic and political aspect; yet its moral emphasis—the

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effort at a greater economic security and stability, the effort to meet the threat of corporate power-aggregates, the effort to create access to opportunity for all—is not in our day a negligible emphasis. In most areas of the world the problem that Professor Hacker is inclined to dismiss with an air of tiredness as old stuff of the utopian brand is a problem as real as livelihood and freedom. If we ignore it or abdicate it, we may find soon that we have lost the battle for the allegiance of men, and with it the chance to explore further the best ways of organizing an economy for common ends through democratic means.

II

Professor Hacker gets some telling effects from the English dilemma by pointing out that if your choice is between paying for social security or using the same limited funds to renovate obsolescent machinery, it is no solution to let the machinery go on obsolescing. What he does not add is that America, with a national income approaching three hundred billion dollars a year, is not faced by anything like so cruel a choice. I have noted a tendency on the part of many of the critics of the New Deal and Fair Deal to use the case of England as a whipping boy. They attribute to socialism all the present ills of England, and by a transposition they imply that Americans, too, will have to live under austerity, and ration orange juice and gasoline, if they move further toward socialism. On the other hand, they attribute to pure capitalism all the productive achievements and material prosperity of America today, and by a transposition they imply that if contemporary Britain had not followed after the strange gods of socialism, the British, too, would have today a bull market, roads crowded with burnished autos, shop windows crammed full of luxuries, the highest living standards in history, a Byzantine lushness of life, and money to burn.

It should be pointed out for the historical record that there is a difference in the resources of the two countries, both natural and human. It should also be pointed out that the obsolescence of British machinery, British railway equipment, British coal mining equipment, was notorious long before the labor governments were even heard of. Writing in 1915, Thorstein Veblen, in his *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, gave a classic analysis of Britain's lag in terms of "the penalty for taking the lead." Whether he was right or wrong in his analysis, the fact of the British lag was recognized thirty-five years ago. Professor Hacker, who has had a first hand acquaintance with Britain as exchange professor at Oxford, should know that the bankruptcy of Britain is not the consequence of the labor government, but that the labor government is the consequence of the bankruptcy of Britain. That bankruptcy came under capitalist auspices, and was nourished by the fearful material and human expenditures of two world wars. British socialism, to the extent that it exists, is a particular kind of socialism that comes in the wake of a deficit economy. That is why Aneuran Bevan was so roundly cheered at a British Labor party conference when he said that "the language of priorities is the religion of socialism." Because the British problem was one of priorities, it does not follow that it is—or would be—the American problem as well.

The case of America presents, not the problem of deficits, but the problems of distribution, stability, security. What Professor Hacker calls deficits in the areas of health, education, child care, and the social services are (for the case of America) deficits not for all the people but only for some of the people. The New Deal and Fair Deal have already gone a considerable distance toward wiping them out, and the Cassandra-like prophecies which have dogged us since 1934—that we could do so only by eating into risk capital and investment capital—have proved utterly empty. Always we were asked the question: "Where will the money come from?"—the question that Professor Hacker is still asking. Would it be acrimonious to suggest that not only has the community found the money to establish these services, but that in the process both the volume of capital and the profits of private enterprise have been increased? And I would suggest also that to go farther along

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the same road, and wipe out wholly the deficits in the areas of health, education, child care and all the social services would, far from destroying the private sectors of the economy, build an even stronger base under their prosperity.

I hope I am not unfair to Professor Hacker when I say that he seems to miss the dynamic elements in the American economy. Like other critics of the Welfare State, his thinking seems to go back to the presuppositions of the wage-fund economic theorists—that there is a static fund of income upon which the society can draw as upon a bank account, and that if you withdraw it for social security, for public medical services, for farm subsidies, for public-housing construction, for hydroelectric dams, you may overdraw your account. What we have found in the case of America since the beginning of the New Deal is that the psychological factors are the crucial ones in an economy, as in all human living. John Maynard Keynes understood this, and that is why he evolved a new—if still crude—psychological language of the "propensities" to save and spend and consume. Given a strong base of resources, managerial ability, technology and labor power, as we have in America, the extent of potential national product and national income in the calculable future is such as to stagger the imagination. In that sense, the most recent report of the Committee of Economic Advisers to the President was not a utopian or a whimsical report, but a realistic assessment of what can be accomplished in the next fifty years, based upon what we have accomplished in the past twenty years. The psychological atmosphere of confidence, employment and social construction achieved by the New Deal gave a fillip to the managerial group, as well as to the workers and the consumers. That is why America has managed at once to move toward a Welfare State and to increase its national income.

But the psychological factor is only one of a complex of factors that made this possible. It would be as foolish to attribute the results to government intervention as it would be to insist that America's current prosperity is due to the boldness and imaginativeness of "risk taking capital." The wealth of a nation lies in the state of its industrial arts, its technological advance, its managerial skills, its labor force. All of these may be called "socialist" in the sense that they are all community possessions. They come from social sources and they should pay a social dividend. To an extent they are doing so in America. Wages and living standards are high, profits are unexampled, new industries and new millionaires are being created. And all of this is being done within what has been called the "strait jacket" of the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

III

But there are lumps in the porridge. Professor Hacker, I am sure, will agree with me when I enumerate them. The biggest lump is the fact that much of our present prosperity is the result of armament economics.

Second, there is the glaring fact of corporate monopoly. Since the 1880's the free American economy has been growing less free. The path of monopoly is strewn with the graves of small enterprises. Every year the area of concentrated corporate power gets greater; the area of small business enterprise shrinks. The monopolies are governments in themselves and bureaucracies in themselves. They levy their toll, as Thurman Arnold has pointed out, not only on their rivals, but also on the consumer. They are the American form of feudalism.

The third lump is boom-and-bust. The American economy has gone periodically through fevers and chills. To the extent that we carry over the planlessness of the past, to that extent we shall continue the alternation of boom-and-bust.

The fourth lump is that so-called "risk taking capital" has tended to stay out of the areas of risk, and to play it safe. It has not pushed with boldness into the possibilities of large scale investment with low profit margins. Some of the critics of American capitalism from inside have pointed out that it has not taken advantage of doing a larger volume of business on a lower margin of profit. It has tended to charge what the traf-

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fic will bear. The replacement of Commonwealth and Southern by the TVA has shown that the government is sometimes in a better position to take risks than private capital is. In the entire field of housing today there is very little risk left. The risks are all guaranteed by public funds, and the profits are the reward, not of risk, but of capital.

It is to correct these still crucial defects of our economy that we must continue along the path of economic reform.

IV

This means exploring further what John Stuart Mill called the "limits of the province of government." Professor Hacker has mapped out with considerable cogency the five major duties of the state, and then he has drawn a line as with a flaming sword, with the injunction: "thus far and no farther at your mortal peril."

I cannot have his certitude about how definite these limits are. I think it is a matter for many decades of further experience and further experiment and the further use of the inquiring mind.

Western Europe, especially Britain, has been experimenting with the socialism of the deficit economy. America alone, as I have said, has the resources for experimenting with a better organization of a surplus economy.

It will not do to debate the issue as if it were a clear one between "capitalism" and "socialism." The fact is that in the modern Western State, whether in Britain or America, whether in Israel or India (both of which have become Western states), there are elements both of capitalism and of socialism. Perhaps it would be better to say that there are elements of business capitalism and of state capitalism. The problem is how to form an amalgam of them which will achieve the best form of welfare economy.

Britain has moved reluctantly toward a larger public sector—that is, a sector of state capitalism. It has done so from necessity in the interest of sheer survival, although the Marxist tradition of the Labor party has given the new developments a dogmatic welcome. America has moved, also under the spur of necessity, toward enlarged sectors of public action in the economy. Dogmatically we abhor every such step. We call it "socialism" and many worse names as well. But under the spur of the great depression, and the thrust of the democratic welfare impulse, which is very strong in the American tradition, we have nevertheless kept moving. Our problem has been, not sheer survival, as in the case of Britain, but stability and security.

I don't think that Professor Hacker is justified in ridiculing the concept of a mixed economy, such as will be found in Professor Schlesinger's *Vital Center* and in Irwin Ross's book on the mixed economy, *Strategy for Liberals*. Our whole historic instinct has been to cling to the private sector wherever we can, to move toward the public sector only when we must. There is no danger within the American tradition and the American psychology that we will embrace socialism either out of dogmatic enthusiasm or subservience to the state. The greater danger lies in the fact that the great power structures in America are the aggregates of corporate power; that they function very much as governments function; that, more than ever, they control the agencies of public opinion and influence the direction of education and belief; that the business system in America is invested with power, and that property is invested with sanctity and with grace. My own anxiety is not that we will slip unaware into socialism, but that we will not have the courage to challenge those who fear the valid extensions of the public sector.

In the Winter Number . . .

The FORUM *will be devoted to a symposium on "The New Criticism." The contributors will be* WILLIAM BARRETT, KENNETH BURKE, MALCOLM COWLEY, ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS *and* ALLEN TATE.

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The Reader Replies . . .

THE READER REPLIES *regularly carries comments by readers on the contents of the preceding American Scholar Forum. Because of the illness of one of our contributors, there was no Forum in the Summer number, and therefore only miscellaneous letters commenting on various articles appear here. In the Winter number, however,* THE READER REPLIES *will contain letters about the debate in the current number on the subject: "The Democratic Limits of the Welfare State," and the usual miscellaneous letters. All communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *415 First Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., and should not exceed 300 words in length. Because of limitations of space, the editors cannot guarantee to print all communications received. Letters intended for publication in the Winter number should be mailed before October 15.*—EDITOR.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS

Television's Peril to Culture

The lament of "Emerson, secundus" (THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring 1950), is circumscribed by what he himself fears are the consequences of his criticism. He implies this in his remark, "It may even be possible to achieve this end [higher standards in television production] without resorting to the expedient of a public service monopoly." He thus suggests the possibilities of government ownership or extensive regulation of the television industry and, at the same time, looks about for a more acceptable and feasible solution.

The gravity of the problem he poses is enormous. It is amplified by the entertainment habits of the American people (who, by and large, use radio, television and the movies as devices of escapism to be taken in large, undiscriminating gulps) and the ready accessibility of the means of mass entertainment at low cost. Such reports as the recent one on the effect of television on the study habits of youngsters makes even industry-minded persons wonder what is going to happen to American culture under the influence of this sinister instrument.

Criticism has its role to play, but one can only be dubious about its effect. The scholarly reports from the Commission on the Freedom of the Press and the earlier *Blue Book* of the Federal Communications Commission were both outspoken in their attitudes toward commercial excesses, but, beyond the usual references to the "free enterprise system," the reaction of the radio and television industry was negligible. Certainly there were no startling improvements. The fortress of commercialism is a sturdy one, and something more than criticism is called for to blast its ramparts.

The "Third Program" of the BBC, to which Emerson, secundus, refers, may be a wonderful thing, but it is a product of a state-operated radio network. And, aside from the questionable desirability of such a scheme, its political feasibility—in view of the attitudes in Congress—is out of the question. A practicable solution lies somewhere between the authority the FCC has to license users of the ether "in the public interest" and the limitation on that agency's power to censor. It lies somewhere between government operation and advertiser domination.

One proposal is as follows: That the FCC

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take it upon itself to see that the greatest possible amount of *variety* be introduced over radio and television. The FCC would not tell the station operators that they could not broadcast one type of show and that they had to broadcast another. Rather its job would be to see that a licensee ceased the practice of devoting so much time to a few "popular" program types, and that he matched "good" programs with "bad" in a more balanced pattern. The FCC has stressed the importance of "balanced output," but the stress has gone little beyond the suggestive stage. It would demand the denial of a number of renewal applications for licenses to let the industry know that the FCC means business—and at the present stage of radio performance little would be lost. Such a proposal would not eliminate commercial support of radio and television, though it would produce some structural changes. The field is too influential and far-reaching for the advertisers to say "good-by" to it.

This suggestion, it seems to me, accords with the "public interest" notion, particularly in view of the heavily centralized control of the radio and television industry. In the world of commerce it is hard enough to know what the "public interest" is. Where, as is the case in television, entertainment tastes are involved, no formula at all is available. The only way out is to let the listener-viewer be his own censor, to let him tune out what he doesn't like. Presently, too many people are forced to tune out practically everything. Get a greater range of selectivity before the audience and we will be on the road toward more civilized cultural interests.

Richard A. Forsling
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Wallingford, Connecticut

Public and Private Education

I was surprised to read in your Spring issue the article, "A Plea for Cooperation," by George N. Shuster. Dr. Shuster made assumptions which were unwarranted—for example, the assumption that if we had no parochial and other private schools there would be no room for educational experimentation. In Finland, before Russia planted her iron heel there, I found interesting experimentation proceeding within the public school system. There was no "one mould." Our Gary, Winnetka and other public schools in the United States surely are not conforming to one pattern.

Mary Barnett Gilson
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Chapel Hill, North Carolina

President Shuster has written a very clever article (FORUM, Spring 1950), abounding in sweetness and good will with the corresponding blurring of issues and aims. At the risk of being cast in the role of an alarmist, a "bigot," and a man of ill will who does not want to give *all* our kiddies a break, let me point out a few things. Despite President Shuster's underlying assumption, all institutions of education are not working together at the same educational task; aims and results are not identical in all schools. Nor are all aims equally beneficial for American democracy. It is the strategy of those who desire aid to private education to blur conflicting aims by showing that (1) there are no real conflicting aims, and (2) all conflicting aims are somehow reduced into a mystical greatest good for all in the final analysis. This is undiluted hogwash. Mr. Leibson pointed out that one of the main purposes of the public school system is to combat extreme ethno-centrism in our diverse population. This does not mean that "all differences between creeds are to be abolished," but it does mean that the similarities between men which are more important are to be emphasized. President Shuster conveniently misses the point. No one is trying to induce an Episcopalian and a Baptist to follow the same creed, although it is true that the public school, through teaching, and even more through providing an area where different personalities can meet, strives to show that doctrinal hair-splitting is not so important as respect and love for an individual, whatever his creed. The private school, and especially the paro-

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chial school, is disqualified by its very nature from this sort of education. Even if it taught the dignity of all men and the common bonds between them in the classroom it could not provide conditions of actual living together which exist in the public school. The Catholic parochial school which aims at the production of "good Catholics" often develops among its segregated pupils a "chosen people" complex. (American democracy is fortunate that most Catholic children are not segregated in their own school system.)

Among the aims of public education is the attempt to develop Man Thinking, to develop that feeling of intellectual curiosity in all things, that incessant questioning, which has resulted in whatever human progress there has been, and which has been one of the chief factors in the rise of American civilization. The chief aim of Catholic education is, and always has been, indoctrination. Catholic educators continually go in fear of too much thinking on the part of the student; they too often identify Man Thinking with the "heretic," the "free thinker," and the "atheist." To say that church education makes up for this by instilling morality is absurd. Nothing can make up for the loss of complete intellectual freedom, and there is too much historical and contemporary evidence against it to equate church-dominated education with morality, not to speak of true brotherly love.

If all education is not equally good for American democracy, and if there are dangers in the private (and in particular the parochial) school systems, why do we permit them to exist at all? Mr. Leibson has given the answer. Democracy recognizes and defends the right to be different; it champions pluralism as against uniformity. But it cannot afford to be overly passive to thought habits which would undermine it. "If in its passion to preserve the rights of individuals it *permits* a departure from its accepted system of education it is under no obligation to *encourage* that departure." President Shuster seems to be worried about securing the "greatest possible amount of mutual good will for the education of all children." Good will is a delightful thing (and where is the wretch who will not cheer!), but even more important for American education is that the majority of people in this country—of all religious and political beliefs—who recognize the tremendously important role of the public school as a bulwark to our distinct way of life organize to defend and encourage it at the risk of making a few enemies. When the determination of the majority becomes strong enough, the funds will flow into the public schools without the necessity of paying tribute. I hope President Shuster does not call this legislation by fiat.

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The Woman Question

The spate of articles and books on the "woman question," including what has appeared in the last few issues in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, completely ignores the form in which this problem poses itself to the overwhelming majority of American women.

There are more than fifty million women over twenty-one years of age in the United States. The vast majority of them are in the lower income brackets (86 per cent of American families receive less than $5,000 a year, 59 per cent less than $3,000, and 35 per cent less than $1,000). The problems most women face are not, therefore, whether or not to have an executive or professional career, or what to do with their leisure, but, rather: why are they paid less than men for the same type of work? how can they combine the tasks of rearing children and caring for their homes when circumstances also compel them to be *the* family breadwinner? (In 1946, over six and a half million women were the heads of their families, economically speaking.)

Or what about the women, single or with a family to support, who cannot find any work at all these days when women are being increasingly pushed out of manufacturing jobs? What kind of a mother can a woman be when she must leave her small

(Continued on page 506)

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UNDER WHATEVER SKY

Irwin Edman

Let Us Now Praise . . .

It is a cliché to say that it is easier—and more amusing—to damn than to praise. This familiar reflection never comes so acutely to awareness as when one is attending a testimonial dinner to some distinguished person on the occasion of anything from his fiftieth to his ninetieth birthday. The reflection becomes acute to the point of pain if one is a scheduled speaker, and rather late in the schedule. By the time one rises to speak, virtually every laudable aspect of the guest of honor has been broached, developed, embroidered, extrapolated—until anything more seems less a labor of love than a work of redundance.

Granted that the man is the demi-paragon who has prompted the dinner in the first place. Agreed that there never was such a teacher, so communicative, so radiant, at once so flexible and so conscientious, so imaginative and responsible, so creative and faithful. He is, it goes without saying—except that it has been said about a dozen times already—marked by the most perceptive seriousness and the most bubbling humor. Age has not withered him, though by this time in the evening the speakers have withered the audience.

Despite the fact that one has come as an act of piety, how almost irresistible is the temptation to arise and speak, not the forthright truth, but the most violent and malicious lies. The guest of honor himself, and certainly the audience, would be enormously relieved suddenly to hear that this paragon of academic animals was really a rake and a vulture, a double-dealer and a scoundrel, that, as was said at Oxford about the classicist, Jebb, "What time he could spare from the adornment of his person he spent on the neglect of his duties."

The more scabrous one's accusations, the more relaxed the guest of honor would become, for, undoubtedly, in his sweet and patient life he has long cherished the private dream of being a secret villain, and the fantasy of having long and deliberately deceived his ardent and faithful public. How the audience would revive, too, for by this time in the evening the principle of Aristides, The Just, has begun to operate, and everyone feels that no one could possibly be that good. And have we not been taught in our generation, beginning with the debunking twenties, that the adjective natural to truth is "unpleasant," and that revelations are never of divinity, but of clay feet?

There is a very good reason why, on such an occasion of pious tribute, one does not quite dare to blurt out the unspeakable, mention the unmentionable, and report the seamy side of the guest of honor. For if one did, it is more than likely that the audience would be saying to itself, "How whimsical really! He couldn't possibly mean it, but isn't it fun to hear him say these dreadful things in fun?" The mood of piety has become so mellow that anything unpleasant, if it happens to be uttered, is regarded as the sheerest fantasy of pious good humor.

"Well," the last speaker says to himself before he rises, "I may as well keep to the temper of the evening." He begins, inevitably, "Everything that ought to be said about our guest of honor has already been said, but I shall take just a few moments of your time to add a few words." The moments lengthen into minutes, the minutes seem to be hours. Somewhere along toward midnight the toastmaster, who is famous for his gift of words, says, "Our revels now are ended." But only after the guest of honor has arisen to say in a succinct forty minutes that he deserves none of the praises that have been lavished on him, and that he realizes that the tribute is not to him, but to education, to religion, to democracy, to humanity, to the past, to the future, to our cultural inheritance, and to posterity—all of which, in his poor way, he has tried to serve.

The Prospect Before Us

An English friend wrote me early last summer regretting that I had been com-

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pelled to postpone for a year a visit to England. His regret was tempered by cheerfulness and a certain real relief about my presumable mental health. "It *did* seem to me" he wrote, "quite a lunatic thing for you to propose to yourself to come over here while the Labor government is still in power. By next year they will be gone and you will recognize English civilization again."

At this writing I do not know how good a prophet my friend is; I do know he has been hopefully predicting the end of the Labor government for about five years now. Nor am I citing his political judgment with approval. What does interest me about his explosion is the comforting sense he has that a change in administration will make everything fine again. That is, he wishes to be back in the Edwardian—better still, the Victorian—era. In his mind's eye, I have no doubt, he sees hansom cabs once more rolling on the re-cobbled streets of London, and the great houses in Portland Square each manned by a staff of housemaids and footmen superintended by an impeccable butler.

My friend knows better, of course, but, like many people in late middle age, he has an irresistible hope that the clock will be turned back, and he believes that all that is required is the reinstatement of a backward-looking political party to achieve such a miraculous chronological reversion. There is a whole age group, those between fifty and sixty, to whom Utopia is not in the far future or in the inconceivably distant past. The date of the end of paradise is 1914. The calendar there marks the close, in this country as well as in England, of an epoch that, seen through the eyes of nostalgia, looks miraculously simple and serene. It was an age in which international peace was not a problem but a fact. It was a period without the frustration of traffic lights. It was a time when one could use the word "progress" seriously, and believe that the path of progress was indefinitely open before us.

"Throw the rascals out" is a familiar political sentiment; and, by the most impeccable logic, the rascals to be thrown out are the very ones who at the moment happen to be in. But the scroundrels now to be ejected are more than political opponents. They have become moral symbols. It is really devils whom the nostalgic wish to throw out, the big devils of present actuality, the little devils of future monstrosity. No wonder my English friend wrote me to come next year, when things will be more or less as they had been before. Bicycles will glide quietly over motorless streets; the click of mallet against croquet ball will be heard on the lawns of smoothly run country houses; there will be vast feasts and plans for passport-less imperial travel. Perhaps at a dinner party someone may suggest that things look a little uneasy in the Balkans; or someone else, like Max Beerbohm's immortal T. Fenning Dodsworth, will say he does not like the look of things in the Far East. But both gentlemen will be set down as alarmists; the port and the nuts will be passed round; all will be wonderfully at peace.

My friend would indignantly deny that he really believes all this, but in his kind old Tory heart I am certain he half does.

Sic Transit

A macabre practical joker once appeared at the front door in the middle of a dinner party given by an older friend of mine, then a very lively dean. The man insisted on seeing the head of the house; and when the host appeared at the door, the visitor turned out to represent a local undertaking firm. He had come on a telephoned request to take charge of the body of our host, who was intelligibly not amused.

At a large university recently, an eminent scholar, who had reason to believe his writings were fairly well known, had a similar experience. The Secretary turned over to him a letter addressed to the University from a small town in California. The letter inquired whether the University would enable the correspondent to "contact" the scholar in question. "He was," so the letter ran, "connected with your university, I believe, about twenty-five years ago. If you would give me his present whereabouts, I should greatly appreciate it. I have no way of knowing what has become of him." The eminent thinker brooded over this missive.

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Everyone broods at some time or another over the obscurity, the anonymity, the zero place of his own personality in his era. Swift is said to have remarked when he looked, years after its writing, at *A Tale of A Tub:* "My God, I had genius when I wrote that." Many another writer, looking at an early work of his own, can only reflect on how long forgotten it is. Max Beerbohm once found in a secondhand bookshop a book that long ago he had "affectionately" inscribed to a friend. He bought the book, wrote in it "still affectionately," and mailed it to the friend who had disposed of it.

How often one meets the ghosts of former celebrities, men and women whose names once meant something to practically every literate person. It is a shock that they are still alive; one feels it would have been much more decent and proper of them to have been buried with their reputations. They have no right to be perambulating in so belated a living air. They constitute reminders, too discouraging, of the transiency of fame.

My friend replied to the inquiry as to what had become of him that he presumed he was still identical with the person being sought. But was he? Are we not all distant echoes of earlier selves, of transformed personalities going by the same name? "Whatever has become of so and so?" we ask. Whatever has become of me, one sometimes asks himself or should ask. But—the consoling thought comes to us—our essential being, our authentic self, has changed no more than (until very old age) our own familiar voice changes. It is only the public mask of one stage of our lives that has vanished. Thus, the modishness of a given art critic may have disappeared, but his delight in art itself may last freshly and happily through his obscure last years. Marcus Aurelius warned us against relying upon the externalities of wealth, of friends, of fame. He followed his own warning and retired into the fortress of his own soliloquy. It is not his fault that by so doing he insured his future fame. While he was still alive, there must have been someone in some remote corner of the Roman Empire who asked, "What *has* become of Marcus Aurelius?"— or, when he passed by in some place remote from Rome, "Now *who* on earth is that?"

Syntopicon

The Encyclopedia Britannica, in cooperation with the University of Chicago, is issuing a two volume dictionary of the three thousand ideas which are allegedly the subjects of discussion in the Great Books. The topics include such matters as Truth, Wisdom, Justice, Good and Evil (these two, possibly, we are told, mergeable into one). All the great authors from Plato to (at random) Goethe, are carrying on a conversation, often unbeknownst to one another, answering one another. It is clear that Plato could not have *known* he was answering David Hume or John Stuart Mill.

The Great Writers, it seems, had the Great Ideas, and the Great Themes number about three thousand. They are all neatly codified in what is called a *Syntopicon.* One would like to undertake a similar dictionary of the Not So Great Ideas, the Modest Themes that have been the subject matter of less ambitious conversations from Primitive Man to, say, Thomas Mann—the latter in his more relaxed moments with family friends. One is willing to wager that the Weather would have a good many entries in such an index. Spring—Late, Early, Cold, Wet; Summer—Dry, Rainy. . . . The High Cost of Living would doubtless also have a good many references, even in the eighteenth century, even in salons where grand ladies discussed philosophy. Marriages Hinted At, Divorces Imminent, Romances Rumored—I suspect all these would be no small part of the *Syntopicon* of Ideas which have really strayed into the conversation of even so urbane a society as would or could spend five hundred dollars on a set of books, the cost of the first edition of the Chicago Great Books. And as for those eternal questions which enter into the Great Conversation: What Did He See in Her, or She in Him? There is no doubt that they would have to go into our, admittedly, minor *Syntopicon,* too.

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The Revolving Bookstand

. . . and the Revolving Novel

W. G. Rogers

Captain's Beach, by Sigrid de Lima. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1950. 228 pp. $3.
Spit and the Stars, by Robert Mende. New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc. 1949. 378 pp. $3.50.
The Wedding, by Hana Stein. New York: A. A. Wyn. 1950. 250 pp. $2.75.
Red Bone Woman, by Carlyle Tillery. New York: The John Day Company. 1950. 314 pp. $3.
Debby, by Max Steele. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1950. 304 pp. $3.

"THE SKY WAS JUST FILTHY with stars," Robert Mende writes.

Taken in context, as it needs to be, this is the ultimate postwar romanticism. Novelists and poets down through the ages have adopted a similar attitude toward what they hymned as the diamond-studded night, but until now none has expressed it in Mende's exuberant Brooklynese. The remark means, or the hero Gregg Haber means, as he sits swinging his feet off an East River dock with his girl, Dynamite, glued to his side, that love is grand.

Faulkner, Farrell, Algren and other twentieth-century American writers have taught that not love but sex is grand. Here are five novelists who are in essence as old-fashioned and wholesome as antimacassars and church picnics. Without using Mr. Mende's words, they share his irreproachable conviction:

"I couldn't stand this lonesomeness any longer . . ." Carlyle Tillery.

"Home was home and this was it . . ." Max Steele.

"Nothing is heavy if the heart is light . . ." Hana Stein.

"It's loving people that makes you likely to get hurt . . ." Sigrid de Lima.

Miss de Lima must be distinguished from her colleagues in two minor respects. Her preoccupation with a somewhat artful and elaborate fictional form gives her work, superficially, the up-to-date new look. And with her, or Lisa's, sophisticated realization that love can hurt, she acknowledges that there are two sides to the question. But by being prepared, or, rather, eager, to risk everything for the sake of love, Lisa betrays the fact that she's just like the girl who married dear old Dad, and so would feel as much at ease in the other four stories as in this.

Lisa's father is Mr. Mortlock, the landlord's agent; her mother, the mountainous Mrs. Mortlock; and she has a younger sister, Peggy. There are also a roomer, Taylor, his predecessor, Larry Christianson, and the dog Schnitzel. Mrs. Mortlock, with her marriageable Lisa; Peggy and her playmate Beverly, who gossip with unwitting malice; and three old women who, like the Three Fates, pronounce mournful judgments with an ominous, singsong repetitiousness, all ponder on the possible consequences, interesting and, if it may be, decent, of the chance propinquity of Taylor and the beautiful Lisa. The association of the inadequate Mortlock and his fearsome yet sometimes overpoweringly tender wife, the family glimpsed squabbling in the drugstore, the gruesome accident, the sordid death and other events serve both to attract and repel, to pull and haul. In Taylor a certain canny prudence keeps passion in check. Lisa refuses to be disillusioned; her yearning for an enduring affection persists in defiance of the forbidding realities. She, too, "loves to look at the sky."

Spit and the Stars, a perfect title, interprets exactly Mr. Mende's matter and manner. His characters are the Habers: the father whose ups and downs correspond

✪ W. G. ROGERS, author and editor, writes about books and the arts for the Associated Press. Mr. Rogers' most recent book is *When This You See Remember Me: Gertrude Stein in Person.*

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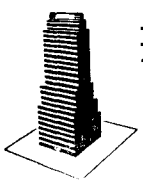
to the ups and downs of the clothing business, the hard-working mother, the son Gregg, the daughters, Ruth and Bernice, the jobless brother-in-law; the children in the streets, Milly, Dot, Betty, Slim, Red, Tommy, Peanuts, Rupturehead; the C.I.O. organizer, Joe Fesner; the Bicks, who employ Gregg in their store; and Dynamite. Gregg grows from schoolboy to breadwinner, from ignorant tough to young fellow who learns that "words are fists, even better than fists." His desultory education, mostly outside the classroom, is informal and informative; in effect, a very bad schooling develops a very good man. The lusty talk, the proliferation of four-letter words, and the vulgar incidents, though they do not invariably add to the youth's stature, give the impression of being not just written, but lived. The lesson taught by Brooklyn, as by any metropolis, is that philandering is fun. This upright, manly hero isn't having any of it. Although there is labor trouble, the substance of Mr. Mende's message is neither economic nor sociological, but sentimental. Gregg wants a girl all his own, and the novel ends, exactly where oldtime romances used to end, when boy folds girl in his arms.

Miss Stein's people, too, have to pinch their pennies. They inhabit crowded tenements across the river from the Habers, on the Lower East Side, where novelists rarely discover decency and virtue. The widow Weinberger is being courted by an old friend, whom the children address affectionately as Uncle Hymie. According to Jewish law, her elder daughter, Molly, a deserted wife, is not free to marry the man she now loves. The second daughter, Becky, is engaged to Alex Leff, who will carry her off to rich Bensonhurst and a house of her own, with a real tree in the yard. On this busy day, when Mrs. Weinberger needs a light heart, it bears heavy burdens. She must placate Molly, who works out her own deep hurt on the gay and innocent Becky; she must worry about the bride's long absence at the hairdresser's, about the tardy bridegroom and his difficult parents, about the malevolent gossips who link her name with Uncle Hymie's. But true love



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Edited and with introduction and notes by Frederick A. Pottle, Sterling Professor of English, Yale University. Ready in October

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triumphs, the traditional values hold good, and the climax is not only one wedding but the promise of two more. That makes three marriages. How old-fashioned can a novel be?

The other two stories, although they have a rural or small-town setting, preach the same moral. Mr. Tillery's hero, Mr. Randall, has been abandoned on his isolated Louisiana farm. His wife has died, his son George lives in the city, and his daughter Molly has moved off with her husband Bill. Mr. Randall owns some timber and cattle, and raises corn and cotton. To his scandalized children it looks as though he also planned a crop of wild oats: at fifty he longs for a companion, two white women have rejected his proposals, and there's no one else except a girl from the no-account Hamper family, Tempie, whom he takes to bed and then, because he's that kind of man, to wife. She's a Red Bone, and his Southern neighbors argue angrily whether that means Indian, Spanish or Negro blood, or a portion of each. Bill suggests that, if despite his age he must get notions like this, he ought to patronize one of the cleaner joints in Yanceyville or Baton Rouge; come, says Bill, be a good fellow, do it that way, nobody'll ever be the wiser. Mr. Randall doesn't actually believe it's better to marry than to burn, he isn't so old-fashioned as all that. He merely wants to settle down, not cut up; he wants a wife, not a spree. The race question is woven through Mr. Tillery's pages, up to the unnecessarily dramatic close, but what matters most to Mr. Randall is a devoted mate, as "loyal as a hound dog," and children at his knees.

Mr. Steele, too, deals with a family unit. Thomas, husband of Debby, has disappeared in World War I, leaving her with one child. Too long after his departure, she manages to get herself another child, although probably she is not to be criticized, for her rudimentary intelligence might not have connected the rudimentary cause and effect. An agent for an asylum catches her running wild in the woods near her farm, and confines her for seven years. She is rescued from the institution by the kindly and charitable Merrills, who combine the

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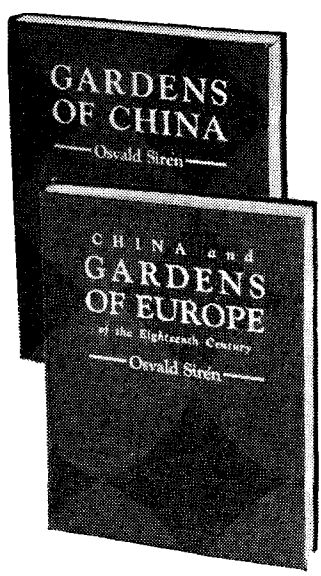

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need for a maid of all work with the desire to do a good deed. There are the father and mother, the daughters, Rebecca, Julia and Betty, the sons, Britt and Glenn. They are shown from Debby's delightfully unpredictable point of view, as she is shown from their sane point of view. She is not insane, she just isn't sane; instead of brains, she has an elementary animal sense. The most precious thing she has left behind in her vague past she finds again in the midst of the Merrills. One of the few things she can remember is that she was Thomas' "own little playpretty," and her mother-love for the children of whom she has been deprived is transferred with a whole heart, if with but half a mind, to the young people with whom she now lives. The excellence of Mr. Steele's story lies in his subtle picture of the curious relationship between the Merrills and their witless, exasperating and fascinating maid, but the significance of it lies in his concern with a simple, primary need for love, stable affection and a firm niche in an abiding family circle.

Debby and the Merrills, Mr. Randall and Tempie, Lisa and Taylor, Gregg and Dynamite and the thrice-fortunate Weinbergers all aspire to a kind of contentment which had supposedly gone out of style. It has been a long time since any sizable number of serious American novelists has exalted, particularly as if with one voice, the familiar, homely virtues to which this cast of assorted characters unashamedly subscribes. To be sure, popular magazines and inspirational tracts make a business of praising family life . . . but it is a business. This quintet of writers works far above that level; they are original, soberly creative, and superbly in earnest.

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and buggy, of snug fireside, of old oaken bucket, is marvelously relevant to this turbulent era of strife and discord. All they say is that man is not obsolete, that life goes on.

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will present J. Saunders Redding as guest reviewer.

THE READER REPLIES

(Continued from page 494)

children all day because she has to work to feed them—when she is out at night, cleaning office buildings? (One answer to that question lies in the rising juvenile delinquency figures.) What about the woman who cannot even dream of a "career" because she could not finish high school: "Mother had to work and I looked after the children."

It is getting a little tiresome to see the term "American woman" narrowed down to a small, privileged and unrepresentative group while ignoring the problems which eat out the life of *the* American woman who, in addition to her poverty and conflicting responsibilities, is also haunted by the fear of another war and the horror of the H-bomb! What an added burden and source of anguish to most American mothers are the nightmares and half-expressed fears of their children: "Mommy, what *is* the H-bomb? What will it do to *me?*"

A last point: It is shocking that no consideration is ever given to the heightened difficulties and deprivations that beset one group of American women in particular—the American Negro woman. Everything that is true of the average American working woman is *more* true of her Negro sister. She has greater trouble finding employment, and is limited almost entirely to low-paid work, such as agricultural or domestic work. She is more frequently the head of her family than the white woman. She always lives in the worst slums because of Jim Crow housing restrictions. Her children go to more overcrowded schools, have fewer parks, playgrounds and swimming pools at their disposal—often none—and have access to fewer and poorer hospitals. For a Negro woman to break into a profession is a real achievement, because of the barriers that stand in the way of her training and promotion over and above the handicaps that face all women. Many fields still remain completely closed to her: publishing, concert orchestras, radio, banking, medicine, etc. (with the exception, of course, of Negro concerns).

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(Continued from page 506)

Discussions of women's problems need to be taken out of the rarified, suburban atmosphere in which it is so easy to get away from the real problems, the real hardships, that are limiting the development of most American women as free and equal human beings.

Eleanor Flexner
312 Second Avenue
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The New Criticism and The Democratic Tradition

Mr. Davis' article in the Winter, 1949-50, issue of your magazine is one of several that have appeared in the last year or so in which a number of important modern critics of literature are condemned, in a block, for being against democracy. Compared to most of the other articles I have seen, his article is competent, moderate and scholarly. But I do not believe his major argument is valid, nor do I believe that his thesis will stand against the facts.

His major argument, which is implicit rather than stated, is that De Maistre and Maurras influenced Hulme and Babbitt, that Hulme and Babbitt influenced Eliot, and that Eliot influenced many important modern critics in America, and that, therefore, all of these modern critics that Mr. Davis lists are, if not professed Fascists, at least strongly pro-Fascist. The facts are straight, but I trust it should be clear that his conclusion does not follow. In case it is not clear, let us take an exactly analogous argument: Emerson certainly influenced Carlyle, Carlyle certainly influenced Hitler, and Mr. Davis admits being in the Emersonian tradition. Therefore, Mr. Davis is a Hitlerite? Obviously not.

Even though a conclusion does not follow from an argument, it may, of course, still be true. Is Mr. Davis' conclusion true? What are the facts? Among others, these: The Agrarians desire a wider distribution of real property, a more balanced economy, and decentralization of power. They (with the occasional, and complicated, exception of Mr. Tate) want, in no sense, religious authority. They have made their appeal directly to the democratic tradition of such men as Jefferson, and are opposed to all forms of modern statism, totalitarianism and collectivism. Reinhold Niebuhr (who is not a literary critic), W. H. Auden and C. S. Lewis base a philosophical belief in democracy (with its traditional guarantees of personal rights, and its checks and balances of governmental power) on precisely the dogma of Original Sin which Mr. Davis implies is the foundation of their fascism. Irving Babbitt, Mr. Davis admits, was a democratic individualist, and Yvor Winters (who, I am sure, will resent being grouped with the New Critics almost as much as he will resent being implied a Fascist) specifically upholds industrial democracy against the ideas of no less a man than Robert Frost (who is, I assure you, not a New Critic).

What, then, are these men against? As a block, nothing: the list is too strange. But in general the majority of these writers *are* against certain features of the modern political and academic theatre: briefly, against Deweyanism, scientific determinism, positivism, the ethos of capitalist self-interest, collectivism, Emersonian romanticism, and the mucker pose.

And if, as the very strange last page of Mr. Davis' essay might imply, those things are the unalterable foundations of our democracy, if those are *the* democratic tradition, then there is considerable history to be rewritten. And if those things are not the essential democratic tradition, perhaps we may be allowed to learn from the free and careful thought of some of our best thinkers even in the 1950's, and perhaps what we may learn from them may help us, as free men, to win over the tyranny and barbarism that are so dangerously rampant in our time.

And, as an aid to that fight, may I suggest one of the first principles of free discussion: That the thought of serious and able men be dealt with on its merits, not slandered by demonstrably false words, such as "fascist," or demonstrably meaningless ones, such as "reactionary"?

Paul Ramsey, Jr.
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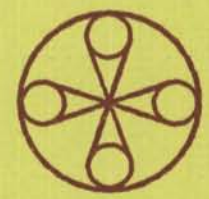

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